EQUAL BUT SEPARATED: DESEGREGATION OF TEXARKANA PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis examines the current demographics of Texas High School in Texarkana, U.S.A. and presents a historical narrative of school desegregation within the community to attempt to explain their composition. The historical narrative spans from the first lawsuit brought against Texarkana College's system of segregation in 1952 to the public reaction to integration in the early 1970s, with a brief prelude explaining Texarkana's history of slavery. This history was derived from school board meeting minutes, archived newspaper reports and interviews with students and teachers who experienced the transition firsthand. The conclusion finds that the legacy of school segregation must be considered a factor in the current racial composition of Advanced Placement courses.

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No Man is an Island

No man is an island entire of itself; every man
is a piece of the continent, a part of the main;
if a clod be washed away by the sea, Europe
is the less, as well as if a promontory were, as
well as any manner of thy friends or of thine
own were; any man's death diminishes me,
because I am involved in mankind.
And therefore never send to know for whom
the bell tolls; it tolls for thee.

John Donne

INTRODUCTION

The ramifications of racial segregation have inspired questions of rights, racism and relative power for generations. Though it existed in various forms nationwide, segregation is most notably associated with the South, rooted in the slave system the region supported for centuries.[1] The schism affected all aspects of life: from drinking fountains, to neighborhoods, to theater seating, and especially to the educational system. Segregation was legally upheld in the United States with the Supreme Court's support of "separate but equal" treatment in its 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling, but its 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision demanded public schools integrate with "all deliberate speed."[2]

The transition from *de jure* segregation following *Brown* is nationally associated with landmark events such as the desegregation of Central High School by the Little Rock Nine in 1957 or Virginia's mass school closures in defiance of federally ordered integration in 1958. While these episodes serve as paradigms of what happened in every town across the country, they are more preferably considered pariahs, unfortunate chaos that unfolded somewhere else. Instead of remembering the history of school desegregation as its few moments of national notoriety, it should be remembered as it unfolded uniquely in communities across the nation. By understanding integration as it impacted individual cities, its modern vestiges can be identified and hopefully eliminated.

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[1] Throughout this paper, the South, when capitalized, refers to the former Confederate States of America: South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina.

[2] *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

To this end, I studied the integration of schools in my hometown of Texarkana, U.S.A. I constructed a historical narrative of the time period leading up to, defining, and following school desegregation to see how this shift affected the community as a whole. This narrative, previously undocumented, began before *Brown* and ended in the mid-1970s. Running the gamut of every possible detainment strategy, Texarkana is a case study in the concerted efforts of American communities to maintain "separate but equal" school systems even after integration was ordered by the Supreme Court. This history is important to the community it centers around, but can also be studied as a microcosm of America as a whole, with two state governments, two school districts and two races integrating within a single community.

I chose Texarkana because, as a fifth generation native, I am the product of its schools over multiple generations. In 2015, I graduated from Texas High School, like my sister, mother, uncle, aunt, grandfather, great uncle, great aunt, great grandmother and multiple cousins. My great-grandfather served on the combined boards of Texarkana Independent School District and Texarkana College until 1963, the year before the board voted to create an Integration Plan, despite not finishing high school or attending college himself. My grandfather was the first of these family members to pursue higher education, attending Texarkana College from 1954 to 1956. His entire elementary, secondary and post-secondary experiences in Texarkana were facilitated by segregated school systems. My mother, in contrast, attended the same schools with an integrated student body. The events that occurred between my grandfather's graduation from Texas High School in 1954 and my mother's first day of school at Kennedy Elementary in 1970 were not unique to Texarkana. But they are crucial in order to understand the dynamics present within those schools today.

For the 2015-2016 school year, Texas High School's student body population was 40.8% black and 41.2% white. Though these figures may seem like an integrationists dream come true, they are not consistent throughout course enrollment. Of all 11th and 12th grade students enrolled in at least one Advanced Placement course that year, only 7.4% were black.[3] To judge this disparity without understanding the school's history of segregation would do a disservice to the community as a whole. A better picture of the educational disadvantage "separate but equal" schools caused the black community will serve as a starting point for determining how to remedy the situation today.

To research this time period, I read the minutes of both the Texarkana Independent School District and Texarkana Arkansas School District No. 7 school board meetings from 1954-1975.[4] In comparing the two sources, the TASD minutes had significantly fewer mentions of desegregation policies and actions and were also less detailed than the TISD minutes. To supplement this information, I used the *Texarkana Gazette* and *Texarkana Daily News* archives to understand the social climate and how race was discussed in publications. Finally, I interviewed individuals who were students and teachers during this time period to understand the personal impact the transition made on those who experienced it. These methods have not produced an infallible record. Archival microfilm of the newspapers was old and deteriorating, and issues were reviewed quickly. School board minutes were brief and only recorded the matters members wanted to be on record. Furthermore, I personally interviewed a small group of subjects, the majority of whom are black. I cannot quantify or capture the extent to which my age

[3] "Texas High School." TheTexasTribune.com. https://schools.texastribune.org/districts/texarkana-isd/texas-high-school/ (accessed March 10, 2019).

[4] These districts are referred to as TASD and TISD, or Arkansas side and Texas side, to distinguish between the two districts.

or race impacted their responses, but I am not ignorant of its probable effects. In the words of Ike Forte, "I never thought that I, fifty years later, that I'd be sitting talking to a white lady about integration."[5]

The objective of this thesis was to construct a historical narrative of Texarkana's school desegregation from *Brown v. Board* to the final mention of desegregation by the school boards. This history is an important tool for identifying the causes of the inequality still present in schools today. Without addressing the issues at the root of the matter, this phenomenon will continue as a self-fulfilling prophecy; a prophecy that our community has allowed to perpetuate for far too long.

[5] Forte, Ike. Interviewed by Katherine Doan. Personal interview. Texarkana, Texas. January 17, 2019. Full interview in Appendix XIX.

HISTORY OF TEXARKANA

The city of Texarkana sits squarely on the state line of Texas and Arkansas, 30 miles north of the Louisiana border. Named for the states it unites, the city is nestled in the bend of the Red River in Texas' northeasternmost corner. The birthplace of ragtime legend Scott Joplin and billionaire Ross Perot, Texarkana is deeply connected to its small town roots and the duality of its heritage, defined by both its "Texas side" in Bowie County and its "Arkansas side" in Miller County. Centuries before Texarkana was formally established, the area was home to a Caddo Indian Village on the Great Southwest Trail.[6] As white settlers began to move in from the east, and settle the area as early as 1820, slaves were brought in and Native Americans were pushed out.[7] The area was rural and agrarian, home to farms of all sizes incorporating slavery in varying degrees. In antebellum Bowie County, Texas, slaves outnumbered freedmen, constituting 56% of the population in 1850 and 52% in 1860. In 1850, there were only 145 slaveholders, out of the total free population of 1,271, owning a combined 1,641 slaves.[8] Across the line in Lafayette County, Arkansas (portions of which became modern-day Miller County in 1874), 39% of the total population were slaves in 1850, which decreased to 33% in 1860.[9]

The following century saw the American Civil War, two World Wars, and the beginning of the Civil Rights movement. Texarkana was formally founded in the interim when the Texas

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[6] "Texarkana, Texas." Tshaonline.org. https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hdt02 (accessed February 20, 2019).

[7] "Bowie County." Tshaonline.org. https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hcb11 (accessed February 20, 2019).

[8] Ibid.

[9] "Slavery." Encyclopediaofarkansas.net. http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=1275 (accessed February 20, 2019).

and Pacific railroad sold the first town lots on December 8, 1873.[10] It began to grow in agriculture and industry, with factories and farms flourishing alike. As the population began to increase, separate schools were established for black and white on both sides of the state line.

By the time of the *Brown v. Board* decision in 1954, Texarkana Independent School District operated on the Texas side, and Texarkana Arkansas School District No. 7 operated on the Arkansas side. Arkansas had nine white schools (Arkansas Senior High, Arkansas Junior High, North Heights Junior High, Sixth Grade School, and Central, Fairview, College Hill and Union Elementary Schools) and six black schools (Washington High School, Mandeville School, and Orr, College Hill "Colored," Carver and Hervey Elementary Schools).[11] Texas also had nine white schools (Texas Senior High, Texas Avenue Junior High, Westlawn Junior High, and Beverly, Central, Grim, Highland Park, Oaklawn, Spring Lake Park Elementary Schools) and five black schools (Dunbar Junior & Senior High School and Sunset, Newtown, Jones and Jamison Elementary Schools).[12] Texas also operated the city's only higher education institution, Texarkana Junior College, which only served white students. The districts had been segregated, both students and faculty, since inception, with the black schools adhering to rules and budgets set by boards with no black members. Five miles west, however, the only black school district in the state of Texas, Macedonia School District, operated independently until it integrated with the Liberty-Eylau School District in 1970.[13]

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[10] "History of Texarkana." Texarkana.org. https://texarkana.org/around-texarkana/history-of-texarkana/ (accessed February 20, 2019).

[11] Texarkana Arkansas School District No. 7 Board Meeting Minutes, April 13, 1954. TASD Archives, Texarkana, Arkansas.

[12] Texarkana Independent School District Board Meeting Minutes, August 16, 1955. TISD Archives, Texarkana, Texas.

[13] Patterson, Rev. Tony. Interviewed by Katherine Doan. Personal interview. Phone call. January 22, 2019. Full interview in Appendix XX.

It would be impossible, and unjust, to generalize white attitudes toward desegregation during the civil rights era. However, locals James and Fran Burton Presley, writers for *The Texas Observer*, captured examples of racial attitudes through their writings about interactions and events they witnessed. Mrs. Presley's 1964 article "Shampoos and Segregation" captured the attitudes of white women toward black women as expressed in beauty parlor conversations.

> In almost all the beauty parlors I've patronized, a Negro woman has the job of shampooing and keeping the floor clean and the beauty supplies handy. Sometimes she is a licensed beautician. At one beauty shop the shampooer was busy when I went in for my appointment and the white beautician had to wash my hair. The pretty, platinum-haired girl fumed. She said to me, 'All niggers are alike. They won't do anything they can get out of.'
>
> 'She was busy with another customer,' I said.
>
> 'Ha!' she spat, 'You oughta havta *work with one.*'[14]

In another, Mrs. Presley recounted the feelings of a black mother whose children had been transferred from a black school to a white school.

> 'All my kids were making good grades at the colored school, but now their grades are bad.'
>
> Her voice got louder.
>
> 'Just listen to what happened to my daughter Mary. She was in the tenth grade, and a white girl started picking on her – because she was colored, I guess. She would push Mary in the line, and she even slapped her one day. Mary finally went to the teacher and told her what was happening. The teacher said 'There's nothing I can do about it.' So Mary just went and beat up the white girl. They suspended Mary from school but didn't do nothing to the white girl. Now that wasn't fair! I didn't mind them punishing Mary, but why didn't they punish the white girl, too? She started it. It wasn't fair. Mary never went back to school.'[15]

In still another, Mrs. Presley discussed the reaction of Texarkana's white community to the death of Martin Luther King.

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[14] Presley, Fran. "Shampoos and Segregation." *The Texas Observer,* November 27, 1964. Online Print Archive. https://archives.texasobserver.org/

[15] Presley, Fran. "Three Women in a Country Washateria." *The Texas Observer,* January 10, 1969. Online Print Archive. https://archives.texasobserver.org/

> ‘Now ain’t that awful,’ the old man said, ‘giving a big funeral like that to him. Jesus Christ did not get a funeral like that. Our senators don’t even get funerals like that.’
>
> ‘I know it,’ the woman said. ‘That’s all you can get on the radio or TV.’
>
> ‘We’ll understand it better by and by,’ the old man said, shaking his head…
>
> A thousand people, mostly Negroes, attended a memorial service for Dr. King at the Texarkana College auditorium… A young Negro minister, Darnell Thomas, told the crowd. ‘The mayor on both the Texas side and Arkansas side were called and requested to proclaim a day of mourning in accordance with the president’s wishes. They refused. The bankers were called to lower the flags at the banks to half-mast. They refused. The superintendent of schools had to be called before he would lower the school flags.’[16]

Similar to the writings of his wife, Mr. Presley depicted the scene of an anti-integration rally that took place in Texarkana in 1965. Dripping with satire, he compared the lack-luster affair to its “glorious” predecessors of the 1950s.

> Anti-integration rallies, like the old grey mare, just ain’t what they used to be hereabouts. Less than ten years ago a Texarkanian could go to a first-class white supremacy convention with the auditorium gaily decorated with signs admonishing him to “Think White” and “Buy White.” He could expect his white passions to be roiled by descriptions of the predatory nigra in action – and probably of the nigger too.
>
> No more. The last “name” segger who was through town was Sheriff Jim Clark of Selma, Alabama, and he has not the inflammatory touch. The words were almost the same, except that he was more cautious. He didn’t build a case for physical and mental and moral superiority for the white man, as might have been heard ten years ago; he contented himself with describing the integrators in Selma, especially the outside bunch, as a corrupt crew who are most dedicated to interracial sex, dope, and alcohol. Much of his talk here on July 22 was defensive of his own role in Selma. He spent little of his time linking the integrationists to the communist conspiracy, although that was the subject announced by his sponsors and fee-payers to local Citizen’s Council.
>
> The rally, which filled only the bottom half of the old Arkansas Auditorium and none of the balcony, was staged on one of the hottest nights of the year. Admission was free.[17]

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[16] Presley, Fran. “East Texas.” *The Texas Observer,* April 26, 1968. Online Print Archive. https://archives.texasobserver.org/

[17] Presley, James. “Selma’s Sheriff in Texarkana.” *The Texas Observer,* August 6, 1965. Online Print Archive. https://archives.texasobserver.org/

Despite the decline in grandeur of such events, their continued existence paints a picture of local public opinion. Although not uncommon as far as the South is concerned, the general tone of these pieces is not one of racial harmony. The heritage of slavery and the racist sentiments it seeded manifested in malicious words and rallies, but also in deadly violence when the two races conflicted.

> One-fourth of the cities' combined population (about 50,000) is Negro. The past clearly indicates there are large pockets of race hatred here. There is violence in the history. The last lynching was in the early 1940's, when a Negro man, accused of raping a white woman, was dragged down Broad Street, which is the main commercial stem, and hanged. The FBI investigated, but the murderers were never publicly identified.[18]

This was the existing atmosphere of the city during the civil rights era. Few were able to fathom how the two races, one of whom had been the other's property less than a hundred years before, could be educated together as equals when they could not even drink from the same water fountain. The desire of both the TISD and TASD Boards to integrate "amicably and peaceably" resulted in little, or rather no concrete action for nearly a decade following *Brown v. Board*. The suppression of desegregation movements and justification of the inactivity that mark the interim period are a testament to the community's desire to maintain their traditional, segregated way of life.

[18] Presley, James. "After the Riot." *The Texas Observer,* August 21, 1964. Online Print Archive. https://archives.texasobserver.org/

INTEGRATION OF TEXARKANA COLLEGE

Texarkana College, the only higher education institution in the area, served as the first battlefield of school desegregation in Texarkana. The first actions taken to integrate the College predate *Brown v. Board*, but many of the tactics the school board, and community at large, used to maintain its segregation remained in use at the primary and secondary levels for over a decade. Most importantly, Texarkana College was the first example of the city's intentional defiance of court rulings demanding school desegregation. The attempted and later successful integration of Texarkana College spanned from pre- to post-*Brown* judgments and highlights the gravity of this shift in legislation.

To understand the school's reaction to integration, it is important to understand its leadership and roots. Texarkana College was first established in 1927 on Pine Street, and moved to its current location on Robinson Street in 1953.[19] The original building was consecrated by a cornerstone embedded at the main entrance which honored both education and the Confederacy.

> Excited about getting underway with construction of the new college, board members broke up into numerous committees. One of the most interesting decisions concerned the cornerstone for the building. Board member E.M. Watts requested that granite from Stone Mountain, Georgia be used. Members agreed, noting that this was the same source in Georgia as that used for a famous statue of Robert E. Lee. They wanted to carve into it the following statement made by Lee concerning education: "The education of a man or woman is never completed until they die." Many Southerners have retained a great deal of admiration for the noted Civil War general, and this appears to have been true of the TC Board.[20]

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[19] Brantley, Janet G., and Beverly J. Rowe. *Texarkana College: The First 75 Years, 1927-2002.*

[20] Ibid.

The College's first president, Dr. Henry Stilwell, served from 1927 to 1959 and was simultaneously superintendent of TISD from 1920 to 1955. Stilwell "was known throughout the state for his work in education legislation" and received many state and local awards for his service in education.[21] As a tribute to his service, the Texarkana College auditorium still bears his name, as does a street just north of the campus.

Dr. Stilwell's loyalty to Texarkana's educational systems is as undeniable as his determination to maintain its segregation. In 1952, two years before *Brown v. Board,* nine black students from Dunbar High School sued Texarkana College in *Whitmore v. Stilwell*, claiming their admission to the College was denied "solely because of race."[22]

> Subject: — Your application to enroll in Texarkana College.
>
> At a meeting last night, after hours of deliberation and conferences with a group of Negro Citizens, the Texarkana College Board took the following action on your application to enroll in the Texarkana College: —
>
> In response to your inquiry with reference to your eligibility to attend the Texarkana Junior College, you are advised that Article 7, Section 7, of the Constitution of this State [Vernon's Ann. St.] provides that `separate schools shall be provided for the white and colored children * * *'
>
> Implementing this Section of the Constitution is Article 2900 of the Statutes which provides that `no white children shall attend schools supported for colored children nor shall colored children attend schools supported for white children.' Therefore, under the laws and Constitution of this State you are not qualified to attend the Texarkana Junior College.
>
> The Texarkana College Board of Education
>
> By T. A. Bain, Secretary[23]

Whitmore v. Stilwell was first dismissed in 1955 by U.S. District Judge Joseph Sheehy in Tyler, Texas, nearly a year after the *Brown v. Board* decision. Judge Sheehy cited four reasons

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[21] Brantley, *Texarkana College.*

[22] Associated Press. "Negroes Win on Appeal Court Reverses Ruling Barring Entrance to Texas College." *New York Times,* November 27, 1955.

[23] *Whitmore v. Stilwell*, 227 F.2d 187 (5th Cir. 1955).

for denying the request: failure of the students to reapply for admission to the College after the *Brown v. Board* decision, failure of the students to bring all members of the Texarkana College Board as defendants before the court, failure to provide evidence that the students were qualified to be admitted, and denial of petition until the Supreme Court finalized decrees in the *Brown v. Board* case. In November of that same year, Judge Sheehy's arguments were nullified and reversed by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, "with instructions to the district court that it declare that plaintiffs' right to admission in the Texarkana Junior College must be judged on the same basis as if they were members of the white race, and that the refusal of the defendants to admit plaintiffs on account of their race or color is unlawful."

The students were therefore victorious in court, but Judge Sheehy's refusal to order the College to integrate is an important tool for understanding the time and place of the decision. Judge Sheehy decided the students were ineligible because they had not reapplied to the College since the final *Brown v. Board* decision*,* and therefore he could not presume that "the College [would] not discharge the duties imposed upon it by the reasoning of that decision." This ruling was overturned by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, which countered there was "no sound basis for requiring the plaintiffs to reapply for admission after they had brought suit and thus had asserted and [continued] to assert their constitutional rights."[24] The lower court assumed the College would undoubtedly and willingly comply with the *Brown v. Board* decision without need of an injunction. This ruling was either naïve in assuming the Texarkana College Board would adhere to a decision made for another state and school district before adhering to the Texas State Constitution, or pernicious in perpetuating the free will of an institution that had expressly excluded black students on the basis of race. Additionally, the lower court cited the

[24] *Whitmore v. Stilwell*, 227 F.2d 187 (5th Cir. 1955).

plaintiffs' failure to prove their qualifications to attend the College, not due to the inadequacy of their individual applications, but by questioning the validity of Dunbar High School's accreditation. The Fifth Circuit overruled this, citing proof of Dunbar's accreditation in the Texas Education Agency Public School Directory; but the belief underlying the original claim remained: black schools did not produce students on par with the white schools and, therefore, could not produce students fit for admittance to white colleges.

Despite the commotion surrounding the *Brown v. Board* decision and the *Whitmore v. Stilwell* reversal, there was no discussion of integration in the Texarkana College Board minutes. While there were no further movements to desegregate the College for two years following *Brown*, stories of desegregation attempts and riots in Mansfield, TX, Clinton, TN, and other southern towns filled the local newspaper.[25] It wasn't until September 10, 1956, over two years after *Brown* declared that states should integrate schools "with all deliberate speed" and eleven months after the reversal of *Whitmore* regarding TC integration that black students first attempted to enter Texarkana College.[26]

On the first Monday of the 1956-1957 school year, two black students arrived at the College to report for classes. "It was a tense 15 minutes between the time the Negro girl, Jessalyn Gray, 18, and the Negro boy, Steve Poster, 17, arrived in a cab to face a crowd of some 300 white men and male students, and the time they retreated from the campus in the same cab."[27] For an hour leading up to the students' arrival "a jeering crowd which moved to the very edge of actual violence" had amassed, shouting "jeers and catcalls and derisive remarks" and

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[25] Rinearson, Robert. "Segregationist Sentenced to One Year in Prison." *Texarkana Gazette* (Texarkana, U.S.A.), September 1, 1956. Print.

[26] *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

[27] Mundella, Bob. "Whites Bar Negroes from College: Texas Rangers Join Bowie Sheriff in Keeping Order." *Texarkana Gazette* (Texarkana, U.S.A.), September 11, 1956.

displaying "signs declaring "No NAACP Goons." "No NAACP Communism." "Go North Nigger." and others."[28] Gray was asked, "Are you going to try and go through that picket line?" She replied, "Well, I want to."[29] The students attempted to enter the building, but were continuously blocked as the crowd formed "a solid mass" between them and the entrance.[30] As the prospective students began retreating from the school, "several young white boys fell in step with the negro boy." [31] Poster was isolated and surrounded by the mob, which began to throw pea gravel at him. After a white boy began kicking at him, he rejoined Gray at the cab. The two left without ever successfully entering the building to begin their classes. Four Texas Rangers and two local police officers were present but would not escort the students into the school because "Rangers were under strict orders to stay out of the integration dispute."[32]

This incident, following the *Whitmore v. Stilwell* decision demanding black students be admitted to the College, shows how deeply animosity towards integration permeated the white community. The inability or unwillingness of law enforcement to interfere and escort the students into the building, as well as the magnitude and ferocity of the mob that amassed, were further proof that legislative decrees would need to be enforced by a higher power in order for the school to be successfully integrated.

The *Texarkana Gazette* coverage of the story is as telling as violence itself. The day after the riot, managing editor Bob Mundella wrote a piece that headlined the front page of the paper,

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[28] Mundella, "Whites Bar Negroes from College."

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Associated Press. "Texas Mob Stops Negro Students." *The New York Times,* September 11, 1956. Online Print Archive.

accompanied by photos of the students and mob.[33] The article detailed the sequence of events, including the obscenities displayed on signs, the passivity of present law enforcement, and the crowd's assault on Poster. Public opinion of this reporting is unknown, but the following day the *Gazette* featured an editorial titled "Integration and the Texarkana College" defending the paper's responsibility "to report the news accurately and objectively in words and pictures, using the restraint we feel is necessary to minimize the threat of violence," as if their objectivity needed a defense.

> This is not simply a matter of the Supreme Court handing down a decision and it will not be resolved merely on the cold law of the land but on the other hand must be resolved in the minds and hearts of the people, whether they be white or black…. The simple overall facts are these: that two Negro students, assuredly not on their volition alone, have attempted to enroll and attend classes at the college. It has been amply demonstrated to them that they are not welcome at the college. In other words it has been made evident that the Texarkana College is not ready for integration and that it cannot be accomplished without force. If Negro leaders persist in an attempt to force these children into the college they will be guilty, in a sense, of instigating violence and public opinion will not be on their side. On the other side of the question, the exponents of segregation will not be contributing anything to their cause by committing acts of violence against the persons or property of Negro residents of our city. Only great grief can come to both races by allowing our passions to get the better of our judgment.[34]

This idea that the College, the community, and the South at large were not yet "ready" for desegregation directly contradicted the Supreme Court's declaration that schools should be integrated with "all deliberate speed." More than that, the assertion that integrating schools before they were "ready" would cause violent responses furthered the idea that continued segregation was necessary to maintain peace. George E. Sokolsky wrote an article titled "The

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[33] Mundella, "Whites Bar Negroes from College."

[34] "Editorial Comment: Integration and the Texarkana College." *Texarkana Gazette* (Texarkana, U.S.A.), September 12, 1956. Texarkana College Archive.

Supreme Court" for the Texarkana Gazette the day after the Texarkana College riot, describing the importance of *Brown* in the fight for state's rights and its impact on racial harmony: "The Southern states, for instance, claim that they were making great progress in the solution of the Negro question, but that the Supreme Court decision aroused such passions in the South that it set back racial relations in the South several decades. This decision is definitely an anti-states' rights decision."[35] While the debate between the authority of states versus civil rights continues today, most of these evocations were thinly veiled attempts to excuse a deeply rooted white supremacist institution reluctant to lose control.

The portrayed dichotomy between peaceful segregation of pre-*Brown* days and the violence that integration incited is paralleled by the *Texarkana Gazette*'s articles on the College riot versus the peace of the day after. "All was quiet at Texarkana College Tuesday, despite the presence on the campus of some 300 adults and male students who waited in vain for Negroes to appear for classes."[36] A mob was present "until the college closed its doors for the day" awaiting the black students who never returned.[37] The head of the Texarkana White Citizens Council, J. F. Williamson, sent a telegram to Homer Garrison, the director of the Texas Department of Public Safety, as well as Governor Shivers praising the conduct of local law enforcement and the Texas Rangers, saying they "controlled the situation at Texarkana Junior College where Communist NAACP has attempted to force Negroes into a white school over opposition of the community."[38] This peace that followed was associated with the success of the mob in their

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[35] Sokolsky, George E. "These Days: The Supreme Court." *Texarkana Gazette* (Texarkana, U.S.A.), September 11, 1956. Texarkana College Archive.

[36] "Texarkana College Scene Quiet When No Negroes Try To Enter." *Texarkana Gazette* (Texarkana, U.S.A.), September 12, 1956. Texarkana College Archive.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

efforts to keep the school all-white, as well as the diligence of law enforcement's maintenance of order – albeit order due to black students being barred and the white mob having its way. This dynamic was by no means an isolated phenomenon, especially compared to larger and more nationally known outbreaks such as the desegregation of Central High School in Little Rock the following year; but this example speaks to the ways in which Texarkana, and the South at large, viewed desegregation and dealt with its approach.

To continue attempts to integrate Texarkana College, NAACP attorney U. Simpson Tate sent telegrams to Governor Shivers and President Eisenhower requesting protection for the students should they have tried to enter again. Tate also filed suit against President Stilwell and Texarkana College Board member Bill Williams for contempt of court.[39] Allegations were brought against Williams because he was a member of the mob that prevented the students from entering the College, but Stilwell was neither reported as, nor accused of being, present that day.[40] Stilwell, however, did speak at a White Citizen's Council meeting in the days leading up to the event, and was quoted as saying to the crowd, "it is not only your right to protest Negroes attending the Texarkana College, it is your duty to do so."[41] The *Texarkana Gazette* reported that "following this meeting… there were many demonstrations including the burning of fiery crosses, shooting into the business establishment of a Negro, and various threats and other acts of coercion and threats of violence."[42]

Stilwell's right to express his anti-segregation opinions was defended in an editorial,

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[39] "Editorial Comment: Stilwell and the NAACP." *Texarkana Gazette* (Texarkana, U.S.A.), September 16, 1956. Texarkana College Archive.

[40] "NAACP Takes New Step in Getting Negroes Into TC: U. Simpson Tate Files Motion for Intervention for Students." *Texarkana Gazette* (Texarkana, U.S.A.), September 15, 1956. Texarkana College Archive.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

which also condemned the irresponsibility of the NAACP for insisting upon integrating the college and "creating an atmosphere of violence."[43] While continuing the narrative that the black community menacingly incited violence with its integration attempts, the article also spoke to the Supreme Court's abuse of power and usurpation of "the functions of the legislative and executive branches of the government, areas in which it has no right to function."[44] Stilwell asserted that the Court's domination of the legislative and executive branches drew America "perilously close to dictatorship."[45] A few days later the *Texarkana Gazette* reported that Stilwell was "not worried about the contempt charge" brought against him and that he claimed he was "not in contempt of court at any time and did not advocate violence at any time."[46]

The complaint Tate brought on behalf of Gray and Poster was heard in U.S. District Court in Tyler, Texas on September 27, 1956, before none other than Judge Sheehy, the same judge who had dismissed the *Whitmore v. Stilwell* case a year before.[47] Despite overwhelming evidence against the two defendants, the claim was thrown out after "the two plaintiffs… testified that they had never retained any attorney to represent them," blatantly ignoring the fact that Tate could legally represent the plaintiffs without a formal retainer agreement.[48] When called to the stand, both Gray and Poster expressed their desire was first and foremost to "just go to college." After the hearing, both students said "they would continue their efforts to enter

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[43] "NAACP Takes New Step in Getting Negroes Into TC."

[44] "Editorial Comment: Stilwell and the NAACP."

[45] Ibid.

[46] "In Connection With Integration: Texarkana College President Not Worried About Contempt Charge." *Texarkana Gazette* (Texarkana, U.S.A.), September 19, 1956. Texarkana College Archive.

[47] Kellum, B.F. "Local College Officials May Get Contempt Charge." *Texarkana Gazette* (Texarkana, U.S.A.), September 27, 1956. Texarkana College Archive.

[48] "Stilwell Hails Victory in Court Over NAACP: Texas Attorney General Will Continue Fight in State Court." *Texarkana Gazette* (Texarkana, U.S.A.), September 28, 2956. Texarkana College Archive.

Texarkana College and 'would retain a lawyer.'"[49]

In addition to damaging the integration efforts within Texarkana, the hearing further fueled the fire beneath another case taking place at the time, *State of Texas v. NAACP*. In this case, the state enacted a "temporary restraining order" against the NAACP, which forced it to cease its Texas operations.[50] The case was formed on charges of coercing plaintiffs to file suits and failure to pay taxes in line with a for-profit business.[51] The NAACP's alleged "coercion" of Gray and Poster into filing suit against Texarkana College was yet another weapon the Texas State Attorney General, John Ben Shepperd, could use against the organization. Shepperd had been an "interested spectator" present at the hearing for Gray and Poster, and was quoted as saying their "testimony [would] be of interest to Bowie County authorities. It should come before the Bowie County grand jury. I intend to ask them to look into it."[52] While the Bowie County grand jury never ruled on the issue, *State of Texas v. NAACP* was heard in district court by Judge Otis T. Dunagan in Tyler, Texas on September 28, 1956, the day after the hearing in the case involving Gray and Poster. Thurgood Marshall, who defended the NAACP, called the case the "greatest crisis" in the history of the organization.[53] Judge Dunagan ultimately placed an injunction on the NAACP in 1957, saying "the organization was barred from engaging in the practice of law or financing a suit in which they have no direct interest; engaging in political activities or in lobbying activities contrary to state law; soliciting lawsuits, either directly or

[49] "Stilwell Hails Victory in Court Over NAACP."

[50] "Texas v. the NAACP." *The Crisis at Mansfield,* accessed November 20, 2018. https://mansfieldcrisis.omeka.net/exhibits/show/naacp-texas/texas-v-naacp.

[51] Ibid.

[52] "Stilwell Hails Victory in Court Over NAACP."

[53] "Texas v. the NAACP."

indirectly; or hiring or paying any litigant to bring, maintain or prosecute a law suit."[54] Despite this ruling, the NAACP felt that they were not "enjoined from any act they could have done lawfully under our charter before the Tyler suit" and subsequently continued to fight for civil rights across Texas and the nation.[55]

As the NAACP focused on the state charges brought against them, pressure against Texarkana College decreased. There is no further mention in the *Texarkana Gazette* of legal action against the College or of attempts to integrate it over the next seven years. It wasn't until June 12, 1963 when Linda Ruth Tolbert and Albirda P. Briley enrolled for summer classes that Texarkana College was officially desegregated.[56] The *Texarkana Gazette* reported that they were "the first qualified Negroes to apply for enrollment at the Texarkana College since the federal courts in 1956 ordered the College to admit qualified Negro applicants." This statement furthered the narrative that Texarkana College had not rejected black students due to racial reasons, thereby disqualifying the applications of Jessalyn Gray and Steven Poster.[57] The article also reported that the College had "no choice but to comply with the court order," removing the Board's agency in admitting black students so as to maintain its innocence in the public eye. There were no mobs or racist signs as Tolbert and Briley entered the college, but that night a

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[54] "Texas v. the NAACP."

[55] Ibid.

[56] Frailey, F. W. & Woosley, Joe. "Cross Burned, March Staged in Texarkana." *The Daily News-Telegram* (Sulphur Springs, Tex.), Vol. 85, No. 139, Ed. 1 Thursday, June 13, 1963, newspaper, June 13, 1963; Sulphur Springs, Texas. (texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth828059/: accessed December 6, 2018), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, texashistory.unt.edu; crediting Hopkins County Genealogical Society.

[57] "Two Negro Girls Enroll At College." *Texarkana Gazette* (Texarkana, U.S.A.), June 13, 1963. Texarkana College Archive.

mob of 200 held a cross burning and marched through downtown in protest.[58] "The Crowd was composed mostly of college-aged students chanting anti-integration slogans as they marched down Broad Street accompanied by shouts and honking horns… Although the demonstrators were mostly of college age, many were not students at Texarkana College and some weren't college students at all."[59] The protest was broken up by Police Chief Jack O'Brien who was congratulated in a *Gazette* editorial the following day for his "sage advice" that dispelled the crowd.[60] "This is the way we want it in Texarkana. Over and above everything else we all want to stand for just what the police and firemen were standing for Wednesday night – law and order," the article continues, commenting on the obligation of newspapers to "uphold the law and keep people informed."[61]

This editorial also briefly advertised an opinion contrary to that which the *Gazette* primarily published in the early 60s: that of empathy toward black citizens. "A goodly section of the southern press has not taken into account what it means to be a Negro and to be reminded several times in the day that you are not worth very much."[62] While previous articles had apologetically reported the plights of black citizens in the name of informing the public, lacing statements with defenses for the system as it stood so as not to be considered too sympathetic, this acknowledged both the pervasive social and psychological inequality of the segregated society and white citizens' insensitivity to it. An editorial the following day furthered the

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[58] "Downtown Texarkana: Police Break Up Demonstration." *Texarkana Gazette* (Texarkana, U.S.A.), June 13, 1963. Texarkana College Archive.

[59] Ibid.

[60] "Editorial Comment: The Sensible And Reasonable Majority Must Take Charge." *Texarkana Gazette* (Texarkana, U.S.A.), June 15, 1963. Texarkana College Archive.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

condemnation of violence and rioting. "In these critical days when harmony between the races in a community is so important, parents should advise their children that this is not the time for juvenile escapades… Well-bred, intelligent people do not engage in brawls and riots."[63] Although this language did dismiss "brawls and riots" as "juvenile escapades," it did not condemn violence with racial motivations. Furthermore, the phrasing suggested that the individuals rioting were neither well-bred nor intelligent, thereby distinguishing between the manifestation of racism in different classes of people, instead of the fault of racism itself. The pleas of the *Gazette* ultimately had little effect on the riots surrounding civil rights movements, but there were no further exhibitions advocating against the College's integration.

Ultimately, the integration of Texarkana College was a victory, but inclusion did not mean acceptance. Jaqueline Odom and Linda Tolbert were the only two black students in the sophomore graduating class of 1964, with eleven black students in the freshman class below them.[64] Classes were integrated, but extracurricular organizations, such as the football team, and the staff and administration of the college remained white. However, with a two-year turnover rate and a monopoly as the only local post-secondary school, the number of black students and depth of their involvement increased each subsequent year. The College established an integrated community, albeit majority white, that served as an example for the local school districts to emulate.

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[63] "Editorial Comment: No Time for Juvenile Escapades." *Texarkana Gazette* (Texarkana, U.S.A.), June 15, 1963. Texarkana College Archive.

[64] Texarkana College. *The Bulldog* (Texarkana, TX: 1964), Texarkana College Archives.

INTEGRATION OF TISD AND AISD SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Integration of the public schools on both the Texas and Arkansas sides of Texarkana was longer delayed and harder won than that of Texarkana College. While college was an elite pursuit of the few, the public schools were attended by all and played an integral role in the communities they represented. On the Texas side, white students attended Texas High School while black students attended Paul Laurence Dunbar High School. In Arkansas, white students attended Arkansas High School while black students attended Booker T. Washington High School. The white schools bore the names of the places they proudly served, embodying the spirit of the state line and the pride the residents had for their respective relationships to it. The black schools were named for prominent black Americans, both of whom were successful, educated, champions of equality, neither of whom had any connection to Texarkana. The white students learned in buildings named for the places they occupied in the world and the community in which they were rooted. The black students learned in buildings named for men who would have advocated against the very nature of the segregated schools that bore their names.

The first public school to be established in Texarkana was Texas High School, which graduated its first class in 1889.[65] The first black school on the Texas side was Central High School, on Seventh Street and Elm, the same site where Dunbar High School was built in 1920.[66] The first public high school in Texarkana, Arkansas was established in 1896, with the first class graduating in 1899. First located in a building "on the southeast corner of the Central school block," Arkansas High School served the white students of the area.[67] The first public high

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[65] *Pages from the Past: A History of Texas High School 1889-1989,* p. 27.

[66] Ibid.

[67] TASD Board Meeting Minutes, April 7, 1973.

school for black students on the Arkansas side was established a quarter of a century later, in 1926, and came to be called Washington High School.

The true timeline of integration of these systems begins not with the first class of integrated students but with the first conversation about the process. With the unfavorable public reaction to *Brown,* Texarkana anxiously felt it was not yet ready to integrate. In three pieces regarding TISD and TASD students and official's reaction to *Brown,* the *Texarkana Gazette* chronicled the city's first views on an issue that would take over a decade to resolve in the meanest sense of the word.

In an opinion piece whose author's name has been lost to deteriorating microfilm, the abruptness of the *Brown* decision was condemned while acknowledging the essence of its ruling as morally just.

> It may be many years before we know for sure whether the national conscience clearing attempted by this caesarean method is worth the convulsions which it will immediately produce. A very great many people have been convinced for generations that segregation was inherently wrong, law or no law, and a violation of national morals. But they haven't known what to do about it, and still don't… Perhaps it is time that surgery be applied to this canker which has been softened by but has not yielded to empirical cures. Certainly there can be pride that the Supreme Court has finally faced up to what has obviously been the law all the time. Administered with goodwill, it may prove an important step in clearing up the whole matter of segregation. Children growing up together can hardly maintain the deep suspicions which have so complicated this problem. But it may be, too, that it would have been best to let the natural forces of conciliation have their slow way rather than revive at this point the bitterness with which many communities will receive this verdict.[68]

This summary takes a liberal view for the time and place of its writing, but nevertheless captures an uneasy query pondered by many: "Segregation is wrong, but what do we do about it?"

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[68] "Interpreting the News: Only Time Will Show Whether Supreme Court Moved Wisely." *Texarkana Gazette* (Texarkana, U.S.A.), May 18, 1954. Texarkana College Archive.

Underlying unwillingness to change was fear that Texarkana's simple way of life would be threatened by Washington's cure.

These fears are further documented in a news piece published the day after the Supreme Court's decision. TASD Superintendent W.M. Locke summarized the general sentiment in saying "this is not something that can be worked out overnight."[69] Similarly, Reverend B. C. Stewart, pastor of the Union Hill Baptist Church told reporters "It is most gratifying… Yet we realize that this will create a challenge to both the white and colored citizenry of our section of the country, for tradition cannot be changed without adjustment on both sides." But the tradition would have to come second to the new judicial decree. TISD, TASD, and Miller County officials echoed sentiments best summed up by the Bowie County School's superintendent Ben Fort: "If that's the court's ruling, there's nothing we can do but abide by it."[70] Resignation to submit to the decision was not accepted by all, with students among the most opinionated and vocal. Arkansas High Senior Class President Paul Caver succinctly said "I don't believe [integration] will work in the South," while Texas High Senior Class President James Haltom told reporters "the Negro race [was] trying to make social advances in 100 years that it took the white race 2000 years to attain." Another Arkansas student bluntly stated he was "moving back to Atlanta, Ga. to go to a private school." Other white students expressed confusion as to why black students would want to integrate since "equal facilities [had] been provided for them." While the white students buzzed with confusion and dismay, black students were more optimistic and encouraged by the decision. "Cecil Stewart of Dunbar High School for Negroes, a senior

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[69] "PUBLIC SCHOOL SEGREGATION BANNED: Texarkana's Reaction to High Court's Racial Decision Mixed." *Texarkana Gazette* (Texarkana, U.S.A.), May 18, 1954. Texarkana College Archive. Full text in Appendix I.

[70] Ibid.

said: I think that it indicates progress in our American way of life, and there are several economic advantages from the standpoint of eliminating a dual school and having access to the local college."[71] Other Dunbar students echoed this, saying it would be "nice for all students to go to school together," believing it would "work out."[72]

In line with the two preceding publications, the *Gazette* editorial called the decision the "most significant sociological pronouncement in the history of our country and perhaps in the history of the world."[73] It acknowledged the inevitability of the decision, but reiterated the popular sentiment that it would be better for actions to be delayed until both races could "adjust their thinking in the light of this age of change." The editorial also reminded readers that they were a "law abiding people" and encouraged a reasonable response to the decree. Most especially, it warned the black community of the dangers that might arise if integration were aggressively pursued.

> The decision poses an even greater challenge to the Negroes than it does the whites. Their progress will be in ratio to the wisdom with which they approach this new opportunity. Arrogance will accomplish nothing but on the contrary will serve to further complicate a difficult situation. There is much greater dignity in humility and we believe the Negroes in this section of the country know that to be true.[74]

Humility, a white man's word for black passivity and submission, had been the status quo since Texarkana's founding and was suddenly no longer the name of the game. The legality of the city's segregated educational structure had suddenly flipped, leaving the majority on the

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[71] "Texarkana's Reaction to High Court's Racial Decision Mixed."

[72] Ibid.

[73] "Editorial: The Supreme Court Speaks." *Texarkana Gazette* (Texarkana, U.S.A.), May 18, 1954. Texarkana College Archive.

[74] Ibid.

wrong side of the law. The beginning of this battle was undoubtedly a challenge for the black community, but the dignity and perseverance with which they pursued equality is admirable.

Confusion followed regarding how, and at what speed, the schools would integrate. Donald Nelson, Washington High School Class of 1954, remarked "when I was a senior… we thought that the kids at Booker Washington the next year were going to integrate [Arkansas High]."[75] In reality, it was nearly a decade before the TASD Board even broached the topic of desegregation, and fifteen years until the schools integrated. "When the courts decided that the local people would decide, and the local people were against integration, then 'all deliberate speed' meant something different. It meant 'I'm going to stay out of this as long as I can.'"[76]

The first formal mention of integration by a Texarkana school board was made in June 1955 at a TISD Board meeting. The minutes state:

> The Board discussed at some length the segregation problem, indicating every member's great concern as to which might be the best way to continue studying the problem. It was decided that a certain number of citizens of the school district might be called-in to help study the ways and means of the segregation problem. It was decided that each Board member should select 5 names of people thought willing to give time and study in this instance and to send them to the Superintendent's office for a preparation of a consolidated list to be presented at the next Board meeting… The Board has been greatly concerned about the segregation problem for quite some time and has studied and discussed it during previous meetings.[77]

This mention is noteworthy because it implies segregation was discussed "during previous meetings" in conversations that were not *recorded*. Furthermore, the TISD board was one and the same as the Texarkana College Board until they split in June of 1955, which means

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[75] Nelson, Donald. Interviewed by Katherine Doan. Personal interview. Texarkana, Arkansas. January 8, 2019. Full transcript in Appendix XVII.

[76] Ibid.

[77] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, June 28, 1955.

that throughout the protests and legal battles the College faced, there was no documented mention of the matter of segregation.[78] A few months later, however, both districts received petitions from the Texarkana Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in August of 1955.[79] The TASD minutes merely acknowledge the receipt of a letter from the organization in a single dismissive sentence, but the TISD minutes include the letter written on "behalf of Negro parents and their children… urging the Texarkana School Board to integrate their children in the school system." The petition received by TISD was signed by 92 parents, and was acknowledged with a letter advising the petitioners that the Board had "already given many hours of serious study to this subject" and would do so until the matter was "amicably and peaceably resolved in accordance with the decisions of the United States Supreme Court and applicable laws governing the operations of the schools."[80] This was supplemented with an official statement declaring the Board's unanimous decision "that segregation would not be abolished in 1955."[81] This stance, and the separatist sentiments behind it, held for the better part of the next decade.

In September of 1955, following the receipt of the NAACP petition and continued conversation as to "how to best school Texarkana's Negro pupils," the TISD Board received a letter from the National Association for the Advancement of Segregation.[82] Their request of the Board to preserve the current "culture and way of life through segregation or separation of races, on a sensible and legal basis," was based on fears of the "amalgamation of races," which the

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[78] Brantley, *Texarkana College.*

[79] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, August 4, 1955. Full text in Appendix III.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid.

[82] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, September 19, 1955. Full text in Appendix III.

letter describes as the catalyst of decay which led to the fall of the Roman and Greek empires.[83] This letter exemplifies the bold racism of some Texarkanians. Racism that influenced not only their beliefs on the segregation of schools, but their belief in the innate inferiority of black people.

A year after this appeal, the TISD Board again discussed the "problem of desegregation," concluding "all members agreed that no satisfactory solution had been advanced by an [sic] State, District, Person or Agency, and that the problem was a personal one to be solved to the satisfaction of members of both races within the Texarkana Independent School District."[84] The narrative of deflection and procrastination continued.

Although there had yet to be a formal mention by the TASD Board, in 1957 they "unanimously approved changing the name of the North Heights Elementary School to the Robert E. Lee Elementary School" if a patron poll agreed with the decision.[85] There is no further record of the results of this poll, nor the school's name change, but this motion indicates a deep seeded animosity toward the impending change, and a strong desire to make a statement against it. Loyalty to the Southern Confederacy's ideals could not be reconciled with the prospect of integration.

On the Texas side, more concrete steps were taken, with the TISD Board's approval of an arrangement that came to be called the "Registration Plan." This plan detailed the actions to be taken "should a Negro pupil appear in the classroom of a White school."[86] The procedure included sending the student to the principal's office, who would then call the black principal to

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[83] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, September 19, 1955. Full text in Appendix III.

[84] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, August 7, 1956.

[85] TASD Board Meeting Minutes, January 28, 1957.

[86] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, August 13, 1957. Full text in Appendix IV.

come and retrieve them. It required the black principal to encourage the pupil to enroll in a black school, speak with his/her parents, and notify the "counselor for the colored schools" and the principal. Parentheticals were included at the end of each statement to include "same procedure to be applied should a white pupil appear in a Negro school." This plan was passed by the TISD Board every year from 1957 to 1961. TISD was still strictly segregated during the 1962-1963 school year, but relaxed their policy by no longer approving such a strict plan of action.

In the midst of these administrative technicalities and the continued concentration on keeping black and white students separate, other races came into question. When two Peruvian students requested to enroll at Texas High School in 1960, the superintendent formally presented the matter to the Board. "Their parents who are physicians might be associated with one of the local hospitals. The students are Latin Americans, and will be legally eligible to enroll in the white schools."[87] This mention confirms segregation was not a question of being "not white" but of being "not black." The need to vet outsiders and ascertain their precise ethnicity to determine which school they could *legally attend* highlights the preposterous nature of segregation.

On the Arkansas side, segregation was either unmentioned or discussed off the record until 1963, when the Board broke its silence and responded to the petition of nine black students to attend white schools.[88] "There had been no request on behalf of any Negro student to attend an integrated school until these applications were received," the statement read, and those first applications "came too near to the beginning of the school term to permit the orderly implementation of an efficient plan for desegregation during the 1963-1964 school year."[89] The

[87] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, April 19, 1960.

[88] TASD Board Meeting Minutes, August 30, 1963. Full text in Appendix VI.

[89] TASD Board Meeting Minutes, September 3, 1963. Full text in Appendix VII.

Board did, however, plan to design a plan for "non-discriminatory school assignments" to be put into effect the following school year.

> The Board feels that the careful planning and administrative preparation that can be done between now and the school year beginning in September, 1964, will contribute substantially to maintenance of the District's high educational standards. It is felt that this is in the best interest of all the students of the District, as contrasted to the disruptions that might result from hasty adjustments at this late date regarding assignments for the 1963-1964 school year.

It is important to note that no black students had requested to attend white TASD schools in the decade following the *Brown* decision. Resignation to comply with the local laws, even when directly contradicting federal demands, is evidence of how deeply rooted the "tradition" of segregation was and how insurmountable its correction seemed to be.

Despite the TASD Board's promise to desegregate schools by 1964, the school attorneys provided solicited advice later that same month advising the change *not* be fought against.

> As the attorneys for the Texarkana Arkansas School Board we feel compelled to advise [the TASD Board], that it is our opinion, that resistance of school integration in our federal courts will be a costly undertaking. In addition it is our best judgment that the opposition will be futile, serving [at] best to delay integration, as ultimately the federal courts will order complete or partial integration of the Texarkana Public School System.[90]

This statement begs the questions: how authentic was the previous announcement of future desegregation plans? and how long was the TASD Board really intending to fight integration? This is the only record of either board's intended defiance of federal rulings, with the only deterrent being the cost of federal proceedings. With anti-integration sentiments still prevalent in 1964, what would it take to prompt the Board to action and truly get the ball rolling?

[90] TASD Board Meeting Minutes, September 23, 1963.

The ball did begin rolling, but slowly, following federal threats to both districts' pocketbooks. In May of 1964 the TISD Board produced a desegregation plan to begin the 1964-1965 school year. The first grade would be desegregated, with each following grade desegregating every subsequent year until all twelve grades were free to choose their school of choice.[91] This was purely desegregation, however, not true *integration.* The plan abolished segregation based upon race but required parents of students to apply to transfer their children to any school outside of their neighborhood zone. Thus began the "Freedom of Choice" period in Texarkana. Though there is no record of the extent to which schools were actually integrated, it is noted that a significant effort was required to successfully transfer a student out of their pre-prescribed school and into another.

> Applications for transfer of first grade students from the school of their zone to another school will be given careful consideration and will be granted when made in writing by parents or guardians or those acting in the position of parents when good cause therefor is shown and when transfer is practicable, consistent with sound school administration.[92]

Therefore, if "good cause" could not be proven or transfer was not "practicable," students would be required to remain where they were. Terms and specifications of what might qualify as "good cause" or "impracticable" were not defined. This Integration Plan was not to be the final solution, however. The following school year a new plan expanded the system of voluntary integration to grades 1-6, then following plans expanded to grades 1-9 in September of 1966 and grades 1-12 in September of 1967. Therefore, by the 1967-1968 school year, any student of any race on the Texas side could petition to attend the school of their choosing.

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[91] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, May 19, 1964. Full transcripts of each version of the plan are in Appendix VIII.

[92] Ibid.

A similar system was set up on the Arkansas side, without multiple iterations and modifications, and maintained a much more complicated application process. Beginning the 1964-1965 school year, first and second grade students were allowed to petition for re-assignment to the school of their choice. Requests for reassignment had to proceed by: (1) filing a written application within 10 days of being notified of their child's school assignment that was signed by both parents and "verified before an officer authorized to administer oaths," (2) attending a hearing before the Board, where both parents and the child must be present, to petition their case, (3) submitting the child to interviews and oral, written and physical examinations, and (4) petitioning the Board with a new application if the Board's final decision was dissatisfactory.[93] In the midst of the process, students would continue to attend the school to which they were originally assigned and, regardless of the result of a petition, the Board retained "the right to change the assignment of any child at any time."[94] In addition to the difficulty of the application process, the given standards and criteria that would be used by the Board to make its decisions were even more subjective and vague. They included "the psychological effect upon the pupil of attendance at a particular school" and "the effect of admission of the pupil upon the academic progress of other students in a particular school" in their considerations, despite the subjective nature of such decisions. Furthermore, "the adequacy of pupil's academic preparation," was considered as part of admission, which is confusing given all students were educated in "equal" schools within the same district.[95] If a fifth grader from a black school had not been sufficiently *academically prepared* to attend the sixth grade in a white school, that

[93] TASD Board Meeting Minutes, February 24, 1964. Full text in Appendix IX.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Ibid.

disqualified the asserted equality of the segregated institutions. The plan was to be "extended two consecutive grades each year until the pupils of each of the twelve grades" had the opportunity to choose their school.[96] Had this system continued to completion, the Arkansas side would still not have been entirely desegregated until the 1969-1970 school year.

Although discussions and debates on local integration had been ongoing since the 1950s, the true catalyst for these changes was the sudden fear of suspension of federal funding. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 declared "No person in the United States shall, on the grounds of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance."[97] Issuing lenient guidelines first in 1965, and then more exacting in 1967, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) provided states with a minimum gradient and timetable by which they must desegregate their school systems to comply with the Act, finally hastening the snails pace at which desegregation had been moving.[98]

"Freedom of Choice" was a step in the right direction for Texarkana, but it was a step too small and too slow to fully integrate all students. Thirteen applications were received by the TASD board from students in grades 3-12 petitioning for reassignment for the 1964-1965 school year.[99] While the plan might have caught up to some of them eventually, most of them would have been forced to continue and graduate from a segregated system. Furthermore, there was no plan for the integration of the teaching staff until the 1966-1967 school year.[100] The limitations

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[96] TASD Board Meeting Minutes, February 24, 1964. Full text in Appendix IX.

[97] United States. Civil Rights Acts of 1964. Washington; U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1969.

[98] "Desegregation Rules." In *CQ Almanac 1966*, 22nd ed., 477-81. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 1967. http://library.cqpress.com/cqalmanac/cqal66-1301831.

[99] TASD Board Meeting Minutes, August 10, 1964.

[100] TASD Board Meeting Minutes, April 11, 1966.

of the "Freedom of Choice" period were felt acutely by all: it wasn't segregated enough for the segregationists, it wasn't integrated enough for the integrationists. Nobody was happy, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 still wasn't adhered to, and the minutes for both school boards were riddled with complaints and challenges to every decision.

Not until 1968 was the complete abolition of the dual school system finally discussed. The TISD School Board voted on May 16, 1968, by a vote of 6-1, to make Dunbar Junior and Senior High School exclusively a Junior High and to allow all TISD students in the 10th, 11th and 12th grades, regardless of race, to attend Texas Senior High School on Kennedy Lane.[101] The elementary and junior high schools were to remain operating under the Freedom of Choice system until the 1969-1970 school year. Additionally, a minimum of one or two teachers of the race opposite to that which each school historically taught would be assigned to every campus. This breakthrough, although incentivized by the need to comply with HEW regulations, was a step in the right direction.

The 1969-1970 school year marked the end of the Freedom of Choice period and the beginning of mandated integration of all schools and grade levels on the Texas side. As the high schools had already been consolidated by this time, the elementary schools were primarily affected by this change. Each elementary school was paired with one or two others, and all the students in the same grade level were combined into one large cohort. These amalgamated cohorts were then distributed between the schools. For example, two schools with grades one through five would become one school with grades one through three and another with grades four and five. This allowed students districted for former black schools to attend former white schools, and vice versa. Highland Park Elementary and Jamison Elementary, renamed Spruce

[101] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, May 16, 1968. Full text in Appendix X.

Street, were just such a pairing, with first through fourth grade students from both zones attending Highland Park, and fifth and sixth grade students attending Jamison. Similar pairings were made between Kennedy, Spring Lake Park and Goree (Lincoln Street) Elementary Schools; Beverly, Oaklawn and Jones (Fifteenth Street) Elementary Schools; Sunset and Grim Elementary Schools; and Wake Village and Nash Elementary Schools.[102] Under this pairing system, Wake Village was the least integrated school with only 2% black students, and Oaklawn Elementary was the most integrated school with 38% black students.[103]

There is less information about the end of the Freedom of Choice period on the Arkansas side, but it is apparent that the Board was unwilling to modify its original arrangement established in 1964. However, despite this delay, the minutes still indicate the encroaching pressures from the outside world. In April of 1965, "John Stroud, school attorney, reported to the Board on recent developments in compliance procedures for the 1964 Civil Rights Legislation."[104] A draft of a new plan was then mentioned, only once, and never included in the archives. Then in October of the same year, the TASD Board voted to require its approval on all future tests and questionnaires administered by the HEW.[105] The Board wanted to monitor what information the federal department gathered on the integration progress; yet, it did not attempt to modify its Freedom of Choice plan or stringent criteria to successfully petition transfer. In February 1966, however, the minutes mention "statement of compliance for the new Guidline [sic] for School Desegregation," as well as a Voluntary School Consolidation Act.[106] Neither of

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[102] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, July 15, 1969. Full text in Appendix XI.

[103] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, July 15, 1969. Full text in Appendix XI includes demographic statistics.

[104] TASD Board Meeting Minutes, April 12, 1965.

[105] TASD Board Meeting Minutes, October 25, 1965.

[106] TASD Board Meeting Minutes, February 28, 1966.

these were referenced in later meetings, but it is clear that the Board understood integration was inevitable.

Finally, on June 26, 1968, a letter was sent from the TASD Board to the HEW acknowledging its request for the school to comply with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and describing its new plan to do so.[107] The plan included (1) closing W.T. Daniels Elementary and adding additional rooms to Kilpatrick, (2) bussing from the Mandeville area to Kilpatrick, instead of the existing system of bussing to Carver, and eliminating other segregated bus routes, (3) establishing Carver as a city-wide kindergarten and remedial center, (4) combining all 10th, 11th, and 12th grades at Arkansas High School, (5) constructing a new junior high building and accommodating all 7th, 8th and 9th grade students in the district at either the new junior high or College Hill Junior High, (6) combining Jefferson Avenue Junior High and Arkansas High, (7) converting Washington High School to a vocational and technical school, and (8) increasing assignment of teachers to schools "in which their race is the minority." Despite its obvious improvements over the previous plan, it was not approved by the HEW. Still attempting to comply, revisions were again made including specifying how the junior high schools would be integrated should the bond for a new building fail, where students and teachers from W.T. Daniels Elementary would be dispersed and what would become of the Carver and Washington Schools. Although the revision offered more clarity than the vague declarations of the original, very few concrete specifics were given. However, the plan specified that students displaced by the closing of W.T. Daniels would not be incorporated into Carver, thereby ensuring that the closing did not relegate all black students to a single elementary campus.

[107] TASD Board Meeting Minutes, June 26, 1968. Full text in Appendix XII.

This system was far from successful, and far from truly integrated. With the dual system only eliminated in the 10th, 11th and 12th grades, students in grades 1-9 still had to petition for transfer if they wanted to attend a school for which they were not zoned. Although there were only two historically black schools remaining, and there is no official data confirming the racial composition of their enrollments, it is hard to believe white parents would choose to bus their children out of white schools and into black schools. The HEW was not satisfied with this system either, but the Board "voted unanimously not to meet with an audit committee from the regional office of HEW" in January of 1970. Instead, they opted "to work out and submit a plan for the desegregation of the Carver and Washington Junior High Schools without assistance from the team."[108] This plan, finalized in May, made Washington a sixth grade school for the entire district, combining all the sixth grade teachers and students from the other elementary schools. Seventh, eighth and ninth graders from Washington were distributed evenly between Jefferson Avenue and College Hill Junior High Schools. Carver was closed, to be "reserved for special activities," with students in its district divided evenly between the remaining five elementary schools. "Every effort would be made to keep that ratio of black to white students and teachers in each school the same as black is to white for the whole system," but students living outside the area would be "assigned under the existing freedom of choice procedures."[109] Although the dual system had only been truly eliminated for the 6th and 10th-12th grades, there were no longer any former black schools to which black students could be relegated. These modifications to the plan were approved in June of 1970, and marked the end of the desegregation period within the district.

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[108] TASD Board Meeting Minutes, January 12, 1970.

[109] TASD Board Meeting Minutes, June 22, 1970. Full text in Appendix XIII.

The mechanics of integrating the schools on both sides of the state line were technically complete, but disputes with the HEW were not yet over. In July of 1973, the TASD Board received a letter from the department regarding the racial composition of the district's teaching staff. The HEW's letter is not included in the minutes, but the Board's response refuses to adhere to a "racial quota employment practice arrangement whereby the race of a job applicant becomes more important than job qualifications" until "ordered to do so by a court of competent jurisdiction."[110] Defending its employment practices, the Board assured its efforts towards staffing the schools "in such a manner that none of the schools are 'racially identifiable.'" Similarly, in 1974 the TISD School Board received a letter from the HEW stating that its practiced desegregation plan was inadequate, despite having received a letter commending the same plan in 1969.[111] The Board responded, saying it respectfully disagreed, citing the legality of the final system, as well as its success at providing "equal educational opportunities to all students in the District irrespective of race or ethnic origin."[112] No specific demographic information is available to justify or abjure the department's concerns, and neither Board was contacted by the HEW again concerning their respective issues, but the lingering federal dissatisfaction with their practices is noteworthy.

The lengthy process of establishing Freedom of Choice and transitioning into fully desegregated school systems allowed time for students, teachers and the community at large to come to grips with the inevitability of integration. But the struggle to integrate the schools was only a prelude to the battle that began once it was accomplished.

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[110] TASD Board Meeting Minutes, June 10, 1973.

[111] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, May 6, 1974.

[112] Ibid.

PUBLIC REACTION TO SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

With integration came strong discontent both within the schools and within the community. On the student level, racially motivated, large-scale fights were frequent, resulting in mass expulsions that disproportionally affected black students. In Texarkana at large, a strong push for private education began gaining momentum, criticizing the public schools as "social experiments." Even still, within the TISD Board, there were continued pushes for the abandonment of the desegregation plan in order to return to the earlier Freedom of Choice system. This continued pushback, even after the successful combination of the white and black school systems on both sides of the state line, is further proof of the deep-set "tradition" of segregation and the vociferous outcry following its dismantling.

With integration came fighting. Not all students fought physically, but they all fought to establish their position in the new school hierarchy. When complaints regarding equal treatment in the classroom or extra-curricular activities fell on deaf ears, tensions came to a head and resulted in rioting.

> I was able to kind of corral because a lot of the black students were a little rebellious because they felt like they were not being treated fair. And I came in and was very valuable because when the war was on and the riots was on, the white men who were teachers, they couldn't touch the black kids because if they did they [the black students] fought them just like they did the white students. So I came in and was able to say, you know, "Hey guys, we've got some problems, but we're not going to solve them fighting because when we fight we're going to get put out of school." So the first two or three years were very tumultuous, but after that we began to settle down. I think whites began to say, "Hey this ain't going away. This is going to be." And blacks [began to say] "We can't go back, we're gon' be here." But the first two or three years were very tumultuous in terms of physical confrontations and that kind of thing.[113]

[113] Nelson, Donald. Personal Interview.

Fights also opened up new discussions regarding school safety, and what constituted disturbing the peace. In October of 1969, the first semester of Arkansas High's complete integration, violations worthy of expulsion were updated to include having a weapon at school, using vulgar language, disrespecting school personnel and provoking school disturbances.[114] While, above all else, the clause regarding carrying weapons seems the most fitting justification for expulsion, the definition of weapon skewed the regulation more against black students than white.

> Black students at that time, their hairstyles were the afro. And they would go and get the K-cutters to comb their afros, but it became a weapon when they got ready…. When they got into [fights]… and those K-cutters, many of them have sharp prongs, became a weapon and so [the school] outlawed them, they could not bring them to school. But, the system sometimes is blind to what happened with the white kids. In our parking lots we had white kids with pick-up trucks with 30-30s in the gun rack. At the school. And they didn't say anything about that until I brought that to their attention. Now you have declared that the K-cutter is a weapon, and it is – it's a hair tool when you brush your hair but when you fight it becomes a weapon, but there [are] kids that's got 30-30s [rifles] in the gun rack – that's a known weapon – and what are you going to do about that? "Well we didn't know Mr. Nelson." And I said well fine but, you know, over a period of time it finally settled down and they began to realize that black kids were worthy.[115]

The most well-documented altercation of this time period took place at Texas High School in February of 1971.[116] The crowd began to gather before school began, with 500 to 600 students assembled before the tardy bell rang. After the bell, a fight broke out amongst the 200 remaining students. Black students gathered on "the hill" and white students gathered in the parking lot.

> All the kids who ran out and fought at Texas High that day in the parking lot – they closed all the doors. Of course I'm inside, but they closed all the doors and everybody who got locked out was suspended. And I'm going to say this was in

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[114] TASD Board Meeting Minutes, October 10, 1969.

[115] Nelson, Donald. Personal Interview.

[116] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, February 26, 27 & 28, 1971. Full text in Appendix XIV.

> 1971, and of course it was a big city thing going on then because all of the important peoples in the school district or in the city got involved, especially because kids were getting expelled. For how long, I don't know. Of course I didn't get expelled, and that was... I got schooled by a lot of people who came and gave me their opinion about different things of what – they're glad I didn't go out and fought - and of course I heard my friends who [said] – 'Where were you, man?' and 'You should've been out there!' – and so of course I never was a fighter and didn't believe in that. Mama didn't raise us that way no way, and dad… We never [were] raised to hate.[117]

The fight garnered significant attention due to the mass expulsions that followed. 212 students were suspended following the episode, 175 of which were black.[118] Every student was given the opportunity to appear before the Board and defend their case. Those who did not appear were automatically suspended for the remainder of the semester. Of those who did come before the Board, only 14 were reinstated.[119]

The cause of the fight was linked to the Band Director Bob Ingram's decision to reserve two majorette positions for black students. Previously the majorettes had been all-white. The "lack of blacks as members of cheerleader and majorettes [sic] groups" was not a new issue. The failure of extra-curricular activities to incorporate black students had caused increasing tensions since integration. Ingram's announcement, and the white outcry that followed, finally brought this dynamic to a boil.[120]

Reactions from the fight reverberated throughout the community. There was a marked decrease in attendance of all public schools for several days. Black students filed police brutality charges against the officers who came to diffuse the situation. [121] Most notably, the following

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[117] Forte, Ike. Personal interview.

[118] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, February 21, 1971.

[119] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, February 26, 27 & 28, 1971. Full text in Appendix XIV.

[120] "At Texas High: Individual Hearings Set for Suspended Students." *Texarkana Gazette* (Texarkana, U.S.A), February 19, 1971. Texarkana College Archive.

[121] "Police Brutality Charge Levied by Black Students." *Texarkana Gazette* (Texarkana, U.S.A), February 18, 1971. Texarkana College Archive.

month "arsonists tried to destroy every black Baptist church on both sides of the state line."[122] Three of the churches survived, but St. Paul's Church was reduced to rubble. While the FBI was unable to determine who committed the crime, black activists were believed to be at the helm. "The Baptist clergymen said they had incurred the wrath of black activists for refusing to open their churches as temporary classrooms" to black students that had been expelled from Texas High.[123] The issue at hand was more than who could be a majorette, it was a question of community, loyalty, belonging and rights, both for students and citizens.

While the students fought, parents participated in demonstrations against integrated schools. Some protested by appearing at board meetings or at the schools themselves, others protested by removing their children from the public system altogether. The common thread throughout these actions was the desire of every parent to provide their child with the best possible education, and the fervent belief that integrated schools were unable to do so.

Gayle Brewington remembered her first year of teaching during the 1969-1970 school year, the first year of TISD elementary integration:

> There were demonstrations around the school [Fifteenth Street Elementary]. The black neighborhood did not particularly want to welcome the whites. They were against bringing in all the white students. But the white adults would demonstrate around the building saying they were protecting their kids. They had knives. If I looked outside my window, there might be someone walking around the building with a knife or a gun. I don't really know why that wasn't stopped. I don't remember if it was. I just remember it happening.[124]

Citing such violence as unacceptable and unending, some Texarkanians began to advocate for private education alternatives. The public schools were written off as a failing

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[122] Bigart, Homer. "Burned Churches Rebuilt in Texas." *The New York Times* (New York City, N.Y), June 21, 1971. Online Archive, accessed January 1, 2019.

[123] Ibid.

[124] Brewington, Gayle and Charles Parks. Interviewed by Katherine Doan. Personal interview. Texarkana, Texas. January 18, 2019. Full interview in Appendix XVI.

"social experiment" from which children should be removed.[125] As a result of this push, a new private school, Liberty School (unaffiliated with Liberty of Liberty-Eylau ISD), was established to meet the demand. Texarkanian Dr. Mitchell Young became the National President of Freedom Inc., an organization that supported a return to the Freedom of Choice system by helping establish Liberty School and working to elect three pro-"Freedom of Choice" members to the TISD Board.[126] He also advocated for enrollment in St. James Private Day School, which had been founded in 1948.

Advocacy for private school flight was pitched as being a way to ensure children were safe and well-educated, two securities that integration had rendered impossible in the public schools. Though its leaders repeatedly asserted "that Liberty School had not been formed as an escape tactic by parents to the HEW guidelines for local school integration," the resulting body of students and staff emerged suspiciously white.

> When asked how many black students the new private school had enrolled, headmistress Mrs. Henry Humphrey…. announced "none." Said she: "I doubt very much" when asked whether Liberty Schools would hire any black teachers if they could meet qualifications. [Dr. Mitchell] Young, however, quickly pointed out, "Yes, they could," when a reporter asked whether black students could enroll in the private school after passing entrance examinations. Mrs. Humphrey interjected that "A private school means no federal aid. There will be no bus service."[127]

Likewise, parents who refused to accept integration wanted a return to the Freedom of Choice process so as to maintain a more segregated system through their choices. One letter to the editor of the *Texarkana Daily News* argued, "I haven't left the public schools, they have left me."

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[125] "Young Says Enroll In Private Schools." *Texarkana Daily News* (Texarkana, U.S.A), August 27, 1969. Texarkana College Archive.

[126] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, August 18, 1969.

[127] Ibid.

> The white majority has not failed to obey, [they] have refused to accept a system that has proven in every instance to be harmful to all races concerned. The very least integration has done is that it has dropped the level of education to that of the uninterested student… The trend of campus unrest will continue until enough of our nation's leaders realize the only solution is just exactly what George Wallace said: "separate but equal."[128]

Even within the TISD Board, there were calls to return to the old ways. F. E. Fowler, Jr. and Glen Moses were elected members in April of 1969 to act as instruments of Freedom, Inc. and immediately began making motions to dismantle the integration system "in order to keep faith with the people who have elected us."[129] In April they moved to rescind the HEW-approved, integrated, unitary plan, but the motion was tabled.[130] In July, Moses again moved to rescind the "desegregation plan and go freedom-of-choice for the 1969-70 school year," but the motion was defeated.[131] In August, the U.S. House of Representatives passed the Whitten Amendments which forbade schools from assigning students to schools against the parent's will and removed the impetus to bus students to better integrate schools. Citing this legislation, Moses and Fowler re-expressed their total support of the Freedom of Choice system, including a corroborating letter from Dr. Young detailing the failures of integrated schools.[132] Such arguments resurged in October of 1969 and March of 1970, with constant motions to return to the former system. The complaints did not end until a frustrated Fowler resigned from the Board in September of 1970.[133]

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[128] "Editor's Mailbox." *Texarkana Gazette* (Texarkana, U.S.A.), June 6, 1968. Texarkana College Archive.

[129] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, April 10, 1969.

[130] Ibid.

[131] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, July 1, 1969.

[132] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, August, 18, 1969.

[133] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, September 15, 1970.

Although no such a concerted effort to revoke plans of desegregation is documented in the TASD Board minutes, it is reasonable to believe that the separatist values that held so long in Texas were not entirely absent in Arkansas. Unrest and discontent were present in every level of the school system, from the board and staff to parents and students. The violent outbursts were not independent events, but indicative of a deeply rooted frustration and resentment that accompanied the transition from two systems into one. There could be no hope for genuine integration of the student body until the school boards, and the community at large, decided to cooperate and move forward together.

ANALYSIS OF CONCURRENT THEMES

Three major themes span the entirety of this history: the effect of integration on the black community, the parallel difficulty of socially integrating the schools, and the inequality of facilities and financing. In exploring these motifs further, the deeper impact of integration can be better understood. School desegregation was not a simple matter. Even after the end goal was achieved, the system continued to harbor inequality. Understanding these aspects of the struggle reveals the necessity of the fight and the extent of the cost of victory.

A. Impact on the Black Community

The first of these themes is the disproportionate effect of desegregation on the black community. Black schools were central to the neighborhoods they served, and provided generations of black students with a solid educational foundation. In remembering Dunbar, Reverend Tony Patterson (THS '69) referred to it as "the happiest times of [his] secondary school education."

> It was the place that my father had gone to school and graduated from, and my mother was a teacher there, a home economics teacher. And so it really meant quite a bit to me to be there in that atmosphere, and in that surrounding. It was something I had been looking forward to for most of my childhood life. I was just glad to be there, and that was something that was encouraged that you – in my particular family – would get an education and get a good education, and that is something that was… provided from Dunbar High School and graduating from Dunbar High School. In addition to that were all of the extracurricular activities that students could be involved in like sports and the band, cheerleading squads – those things that make up the high school and make the experience more enjoyable and fulfilling. And it was something that we also looked forward to, that I also looked forward to in being there. So that was a very very favorable experience and a part of my life.[134]

[134] Patterson, Rev. Tony. Personal interview.

Although the inadequacy of facilities and funds allotted to the black schools subordinated them to their white equivalents in many ways, their successful education of their students is undeniable. Dunbar and Washington High Schools served as focal points in their respective communities, providing basic educational needs but also serving as meeting places for the greater populations they served. A "Negro Boy's Club" was constructed next to Washington High School in 1961, and in 1962 the high school began an adult education course in auto mechanics.[135] Similarly, Prairie View College, now Prairie View A&M University, taught extension courses at Dunbar for black teachers in Texarkana and nearby areas.[136] Dunbar facilities also housed town hall meetings for the Texas side black schools, where TISD Board members could receive suggestions and comments on proposed bond issues and school building needs.[137] Thus, the schools were as central to the adult population of the community as they were to the students.

Being a small community allowed for parents and teachers to have close relationships that aided in the overall education of students. "When we went to Dunbar our parents knew those teachers, they knew those black teachers, they went to church with them and a lot of those teachers lived in our neighborhood," Melva Flowers (THS '70) remembered. "And if you didn't do well in school or if you showed out or whatever, those teachers knew how to get in contact with your parents and let them know."[138] This accountability, of teachers both to parents and the

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[135] TASD Board Meeting Minutes, July 24, 1961 and October 22, 1962.

[136] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, November 15, 1955.

[137] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, April 21, 1959.

[138] Flowers, Melva. Interviewed by Katherine Doan. Personal interview. Phone call. February 9, 2019. Full interview in Appendix XVIII.

community, provided students with a strong network of support and discipline. A network that bound the community together to provide its students with the very best education possible.

When the schools began to integrate, however, that sense of community lost its locus. One of the most tangible secessions was that of school mascots, colors and songs. "We were lions and then we were hogs. Our colors at Booker Washington were maroon and white and when we got to Arkansas High they were scarlet red and white," Donald Nelson (WHS '54) recalled. Washington High students even had to forfeit their school song and take up that of Arkansas High: Dixie. "Dixie represents a lot of great and wonderful things for a lot of people even today, but the black kids did not feel like it represented them very well," Mr. Nelson stated.[139] Dunbar too lost its independent identity, forfeiting the blue and gold Buffaloes for the orange and white Tigers. But the losses ran deeper than mascot affiliations and colors. Reverend Patterson described his senior year integration into Texas High School:

> We lost our positions, we lost our… we lost our secondary school education identity if you will by – when we had to go over there. Many of us were on the student council [at Dunbar]. When we went over there [to Texas High], we were no longer a part of student council where you had influence… I played football [at Dunbar] and - I was a good example - I was most likely and surely to be the starting quarterback the next year. Well when I got over there [to Texas High], I was on the football team, but I was relegated to a lower position. So I lost that, in other words. We had cheerleaders [at Dunbar, but] no [black] cheerleaders were on the cheerleading squad [at Texas High]… Band members… That's what I mean when I said we lost. We lost our positions.[140]

This loss of position meant the loss of years of work within the black schools, immediately setting the precedent that, regardless of former successes, black students would not be incorporated into white organizations until they had proven their merit. Identities, founded in

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[139] Nelson, Donald. Personal Interview.

[140] Patterson, Rev. Tony. Personal interview.

team affiliation and leadership positions, were eviscerated along with the schools that helped developed them.

Not only did students lose their identities during the transition, but many neighborhoods lost their schools altogether. In 1954, there were five black elementary schools operating on the Arkansas side. By 1968, only one of them remained operating in any capacity.[141] The eradication of these former community centers and bussing of children into white neighborhoods indicates the greater district's beliefs that the schools which had previously served black students were inadequate to accommodate an integrated population. On the Texas side, the shift was less severe, though only three of the original five black elementary schools from 1951were still operating in 1969.[142] But before integrating and bussing white students into the former black schools, they were all renamed. Dunbar became Southwest School, Jamison Elementary became Spruce Street, Goree (originally Newtown) became Lincoln Street, and Jones became Fifteenth Street.[143] Members of the Goree and Jamison families approached the Board regarding the changes and were told the schools were being renamed to reflect their location, without associating the change to the upcoming integration.[144]

When black students and teachers could no longer be legally discriminated against based on skin color, discrimination against other unique elements of the black appearance were targeted. In 1970, the TASD School Board updated their dress code to ban afro hair styles exceeding eight inches in length, including the consideration that "that eight inches of a black's hair will not stand out eight inches, but because of the curl and texture will seem much

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[141] Texarkana Independent School District Board Meeting Minutes. See Timeline of TISD Schools.

[142] Ibid.

[143] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, June 19, 1969. Full text in Appendix XI.

[144] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, July 15, 1969. Full text in Appendix XI.

shorter."[145] Donald Nelson, a teacher during the integration period, remembered his afro being associated with black militant groups. "Whites in the system were afraid of blacks who were different. As long as you assimilated and acted white and looked white, they understood you because you were like them. But when they grew afros and that kind of thing and they dressed different, it scared them to death."[146] The shedding of individual personhood was the price in order to "act and look white" and comply with school rules.

Though the black community lost much in this transition, one important element of the black school systems made the transition along with the students and staff. Beginning in 1969, black history courses were initiated at Texas and Arkansas High Schools. "Negro History" was first taught at Texas High in 1969 as an elective course for seniors. The course "taught about races, nationalities, contributions, black culture, and black achievements," and gave "many black students a sense of direction. They found out that many blacks made very important contributions to American society."[147] On the Arkansas side, although there is no record of how the subject was taught, an "elective course in Negro History" was approved by the Board in October that same year.[148] The Board approved the purchase of *The Negro in American Life* by Mabel Morsbach as a Black History course textbook in 1973.[149]

The impact of integration on both the white and black communities has undoubtedly had lasting positive, meaningful effects, but the education of the whole person did not immediately make the jump as black students transitioned into the white schools.

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[145]TASD Board Meeting Minutes, December 14, 1970.

[146] Nelson, Donald. Personal Interview.

[147] Patel, Pratima. "Some Effects of Integration on Curriculum at THS." *Pages from the Past: A History of Texas High School 1889-1989.* p. 183-185.

[148] TASD Board Meeting Minutes, October 27, 1969.

[149] TASD Board Meeting Minutes, July 9, 1973.

> When I was at Dunbar in the seventh grade and eighth grade and ninth grade, we had teachers that, when we had assemblies… There are things that you could say in an all black setting that you can't say in a white setting, or an integrated setting. So they would take us when we'd have assembly and they would just lay it out on the line and tell us that if we wanted to be something, we could be something. And you had to say poems. One of my favorite poems is "I have to live with myself and so I want to be fit for myself to know. I have to be able as days go by, always to look myself straight in the eye; I don't want to leave on a closet shelf a lot of secrets about myself, and fool myself into thinking that nobody knows the kind of person that I am." So that's one of the poems we had to learn. We had to learn "If I can keep my head all about me when others are losing…" We had those poems that we had to learn because not only were they interested in the academic part of your life, they wanted to build character… And my mom and dad used to tell me all the time that your word is your bond, and you know when you give your word, you need to keep your word. Those African American teachers, they taught us those things, too. And they reinforced the things that our black parents were telling us at home – that helped us to have strong characters, have strong values. To believe in yourself and to not let people - no matter what they said to you - keep you from dreaming big and accomplishing the goals that you wanted to accomplish.[150]

The cost for equal educational opportunity was high. Parent-teacher familiarity, hair styles, and positions on the student council, cheerleading squad, and football teams were forfeited for the sake of equality with white children. Nevertheless, the black community made those sacrifices and entered the schools that had previously been closed to them. Brandishing textbooks to educate the new integrated student body about their race's valuable contributions to society, they left what they knew to pursue what they knew they deserved.

B. Social Integration

The second theme consistent in this narrative is the difficult integration of sports and extra-curricular activities. When Dunbar and Washington merged with Texas and Arkansas, respectively, they forfeited their cheerleaders, football starters, student council leaders, band members and more and became members of a study body for which those offices were

[150] Flowers, Melva. Personal interview.

exclusively filled by white students. Central to the social integration of the school, the integration of extra-curricular activities was hard won and based on merit alone. Remembered by some as peaceful and others as excruciatingly exclusive, this period marked a greater acceptance of the new normal and commanded an introspective review of the importance of belonging in the school environment.

Alan Harris (THS, '70), who played football his freshman year, remembered integration of the team in the years following his participation as being amicable, spearheaded by the strong leadership of the coaches.

> I hate to point to Hollywood as… actually being historic, but the movie *Remember the Titans* is kind of the way it was at Texas High. You know, school boy football was *the thing*. It still is. Friday Night Lights is no exaggeration for Texarkana. So, you know in the beginning some of… the black guys who came over [from Dunbar] were really good football players… Their coach was a guy named Dan Haskins, and I never had a lot to do with [him], but… he was the right guy for the moment. He was nice to everybody, he was concerned about the student's welfare, regardless of who they were, and he was the assistant coach. He was the head coach at Dunbar, but he became the assistant coach under Watty Myers at Texas High… [Sports,] that was one of the unifying things because football was such an important thing, so these guys came out… some of them were stars and really did a lot for us, for the team. That kind of built a camaraderie.[151]

Dan Haskins, who later went on to become the first (and, to this day, only) black principal of Texas High School, had played football for Dunbar High School himself, later attending Prairie View A&M University on a football scholarship.[152] He returned to Dunbar as a football coach in 1965, transferring to Texas High the first year of integration. "In 1968, when integration began and the doors of Dunbar High School were closed for the last time, I had an empty feeling and I felt somewhat selfish. At Dunbar, we had a winning football team and a

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[151] Harris, Alan. Interviewed by Katherine Doan. Personal interview. Phone call. February 3, 2019. Full interview in Appendix XV.

[152] Maxwell, Charmyan Marquell. "Principal Maintained Harmony at Texas High: Mr. Dan Haskins." Excerpt from *The Tiger*, 1975. *Pages from the Past: A History of Texas High School 1889-1989.* p. 208.

good athletic program, and we had fine youngsters," Haskins said in a 1975 interview with *The Tiger.*[153] He was not alone in feeling sentimental about Dunbar's closing, but he came to Texas High intent on ensuring those opportunities and that level of success were not lost in the chaos of integration.

In Arkansas, as in Texas, football reigned supreme – and a little more successful. Washington High won the title of "Negro Big Nine Conference Champions" in 1961, and Robert E. "Swede" Lee had a strong winning record as Arkansas High's head coach from 1962-1965.[154] Their independent successes took longer to marry within an integrated team, due in large part to rioting and discontentment surrounding the process.

> We had a black student boycott at Arkansas High [in the early 1970s]. The kids walked out and stayed for a week. Took the football players also, and the football team lost the next six games. So that kind of got [the school's] attention… When the boycott was over, they refused to let the black players come back, so they played the rest of the year with only three black players on the team. And they were three guys that did not help.[155]

Following this episode, the head coach was released, and Swede Lee, who had left Arkansas High in 1965, was re-hired as athletic director and head coach in March of 1973.[156] Under his leadership, the team unified, boasting a 13-0 record and three consecutive AAA State Championship victories in 1973, 1974, and 1975.[157] This success brought about newfound opportunity for students to find their place within the team, student body, community, and potentially a future university.

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[153] Maxwell. "Principal Maintained Harmony at Texas High: Mr. Dan Haskins."

[154] TASD Board Meeting Minutes, November 27, 1961, February 26, 1962, and February 13, 1965.

[155] Nelson, Donald. Personal Interview.

[156] Ibid.

[157] "Robert E. 'Swede' Lee." HogAlumni.com. http://www.hogalumni.com/athletics/swede_lee.html (accessed 12 March 2019).

Many players, such as Ike Forte (THS, '72), benefitted from the new educational opportunities that integrated sports had to offer. "At the all black school, most of the really good athletes - they could only get scholarships and [go] to all black colleges… what a blessing it was for me to go to Texas High and to be able to go to any university for a scholarship."[158] But this opportunity did not automatically accompany desegregation. Fears of exclusion and unfair treatment within various extra-curricular activities were ever present, and, in most cases, well-founded.

> I was into sports [at Dunbar, before integration], so I heard a lot of the black guys saying they heard they wouldn't get a chance to play [at Texas High] because [the] white coaches… didn't like us coming over there. I didn't see that with Watty Myers, because Watty Myers wanted to win. So he was going to put his best people he had on the field. I know we had some guys we looked up to who was juniors and seniors who was good football players, some of them didn't play when they went to Texas High. Why? We don't know. But we were just concerned about what we [were] doing at the junior high… All the cheerleaders was white. We did have one that was - I don't know if she was standby - that was black. Now homecoming court was integrated, it had a black homecoming queen… Matter of fact, that happened two years that I can remember: my junior year and senior year. But my junior year the cheerleaders was all white. Of course the pep squad had some blacks in it, I remember that. Student Council was all white… I don't remember, even being a senior, that we had any student council [members] that was black. But when they did the most handsome [elections], they had a black and white, most beautiful had a black and white, you know, stuff like that. Which, I guess that would be… the way to do it because… we saw beauty and saw things differently.[159]

The majority whiteness of the cheerleading team and student council continued for several decades. While football slowly self-integrated based upon merit and objective talent, teams with more subjective standards required legislation of racial quotas to ensure that black and white students had equal opportunities for involvement.

> I had one or two white teachers to tell me, "You don't have black cheerleaders, black majorettes, black officers because the kids haven't proven themselves." I said, "Is that right?" I said, "I can name you five white kids who are in positions

[158] Forte, Ike. Personal interview.

[159] Ibid.

> that didn't prove themselves, but they are there because they are popular and they come from the right homes." So… You know, we had to get past that.[160]

In 1971, The TISD school board passed new requirements for cheerleading, majorette and mascot try-outs. None of the requirements dictated a racial quota for the selected members, but it was specified that half of the judges for each team's auditions must be black.[161] It wasn't until 1973 that quotas were extended to the teams. Of the 10 varsity cheerleading positions, two were reserved for black students.[162] Similar requirements were added to Arkansas High's cheerleading regulations in 1975, mandating that 3 positions within the 10 member squad be reserved for black candidates.[163] Nancy Tullos, the Texas High cheerleading sponsor from 1969-1978, said "it was almost impossible for blacks to get elected at times because they were the minority. We decided to have this policy say that two blacks would get it [elected], no matter what. But everytime [sic] we went back and looked at the actual votes, they would have gotten it everytime [sic]."[164] While this allotment ensured black students had opportunity for involvement, it was accompanied by another modification: a four point decrease in candidate required grade average. The following month, the Board heard complaints from several students regarding these changes. The complainants included Christal Hearon, who was opposed to the required grade change. She told the Board, "It makes us black girls look dumb when grades are lowered just for us. We can make the grades and not insult the blacks."[165] No modifications were made to the original decision.

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[160] Nelson, Donald. Personal Interview.

[161] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, March 16, 1971.

[162] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, March 27, 1973.

[163] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, July 14, 1975.

[164] *Pages from the Past: A History of Texas High School 1889-1989.* p. 444

[165] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, April 17, 1973.

Melva Flowers (THS, ’70), who transferred to Texas High as a tenth grader in 1967 under the Freedom of Choice system, remembered being accepted into the pep squad but felt she had a lesser chance of becoming a cheerleader at Texas High than at Dunbar:

> I was one of the first [to integrate the pep squad] in the tenth grade. Another lady by the name of Paula Wilcox… her maiden name was Wilcox. She and I were the first two African Americans to integrate the pep squad. And we were well accepted in the pep squad, I don’t remember any discrimination.... They treated us nice, we went out of town to football games, I have no unpleasant memories at all while we were there…. We brought a lot of the cheers from Dunbar, from the African American community into Texas High, [and] they accepted our cheers and all that… It was not a social challenge for us at Texas High when I was in the tenth grade…. I was in the pep squad, but I probably would have been in the student council and I may even have been able to be a cheerleader [if I had stayed at Dunbar]. But that was – you know I was not going to be able to do that at Texas High, the competition was too steep and all that.[166]

This internal psychological barrier, illustrated by the belief that a cheerleading position was unattainable at Texas High but a possibility at Dunbar, was just as damaging as the external barriers imposed upon black students. Such barriers allowed the whiteness of leadership organizations to continue for decades.

Within the sphere of student government, equal representation was both more necessary and more slowly enacted. By 1972, four years after total integration, there were still no black students on the Texas High student council.[167] Arkansas High faced similar issues, but under Donald Nelson (WHS, ’54), a new type of council was convened to rectify the injustice:

> We convened a biracial council. I was assistant principal, the principal at that time was not in favor. He said, ‘Let the student council do that.’ I said, ‘The student council doesn’t represent the black kids.’ Because at that time, you didn’t have any black kids on the student council, and no poor white kids. The only kids who were on the student council were the kids who were well-to-do… so the poor white kids and the blacks were left out, and I said that won’t fly. So we established what we called a biracial council, having two representatives, two blacks and two whites, from grades 10, 11 and 12…And, oddly enough, the white kids who were on that

[166] Flowers, Melva. Personal interview.

[167] Forte, Ike. Personal interview.

> council were fair. They just simply said 'we understand what's going on' and a couple of football players said, 'Hey, we understand that totally,' and decisions were made at that time – Texas High already, I think the year or so before, they had three black cheerleaders on their cheerleading squad. We had none at that time – and so we said, well let's look at that system. So the next year we came up with black cheerleaders and black majorettes and from that point on, as time went by, black presidents of the student council, black officers….[168]

The slow, unwavering efforts of black students and administrators to integrate every aspect of student life helped unify the student body through cooperation and camaraderie. In building community together, each race had a greater opportunity to understand the other. "The only time blacks really associated with the whites after school was at school-related activities, such as football games. The blacks and whites sat together," Melva Flowers remembered.[169] This increase in community allowed students on both sides of the state line to come together through celebrations and competitions central to community life and to redefine what it meant to be Tigers and Razorbacks.

C. Facilities and Financing

The final theme is the inequality of facilities and financing between the white and black school systems. This issue predated the question of integration and served as an impetus for its eventual enactment. Inequality of funding affected supplies and support which in turn affected the overall education of students and their preparedness for life after graduation. Within the black school systems, buildings were usually older, with inferior supplies and maintenance. The white school systems, in contrast, had newer buildings and first-rate books and uniforms. These

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[168] Nelson, Donald. Personal Interview.

[169] Prisner, Drew. "1970-1971: A Year to Remember." *Pages from the Past: A History of Texas High School 1889-1989.* p. 771

differences were a testament to the different valuations the boards placed on the schools, which in turn affected how students felt valued by the community at large.

Within TISD, inequality was somewhat rectified by construction of new facilities. In 1955, the Texas Senior High School building was still the original construction from 1910, whereas Dunbar High School had been rebuilt relatively recently in 1953.[170]

> Dunbar was actually a newer school, a much newer school than [Texas High on] Pine Street was. As I recall it was air conditioned, and we were in a building that was built about 1912 and we were cooled by box fans and things like that [at Texas High].[171]

In addition to Dunbar, two other black school buildings were built on the Texas side between 1947 and 1955.[172] But this newness was not a constant across all facilities. Two of the black elementary schools, Newtown and Sunset, still did not have cafeterias in 1955.[173] As late as 1958, Newtown and Sunset were not fully heated.[174] Despite its newness, Dunbar had no grass surrounding the school, with "water standing in pools in front of the building" and "cars having to park in mud and water."[175] Sunset Elementary School suffered severe fire damage, but remained in use for over a year before the TISD Board began accepting bids for its reconstruction.[176]

There is less record of such an explicit disparity on the Arkansas side, but the evidence that is present shows there was no less inequality. The Hervey school was subject to flooding,

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[170] *Pages from the Past: A History of Texas High School 1889-1989.* p. 19

[171] Harris, Alan. Personal interview.

[172] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, August 16, 1955. Full text in Appendix II.

[173] Ibid.

[174] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, November 18, 1958.

[175] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, February 21, 1956.

[176] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, September 12, 1956.

due to poor drainage.[177] Washington High's football field did not have a program clock.[178] The roof of the Mandeville school had to be replaced in 1956.[179] That same year, when cost estimates showed that some of the anticipated building programs would have to be cut, the TASD board voted to improve the Senior High School, North Heights Elementary, Fairview Elementary, College Hill Elementary, and the Junior High School (all white facilities) before making improvements to Orr Elementary, the only black school considered for renovations.[180]

While both school boards consistently approved measures for school improvements and renovations, their efforts were unequal. In 1958, the TISD Board had a Visitation Committee appraise every school in the district and report repair needs. Later, divided into groups based upon race, the "colored visitation committee" and the "white visitation committee" were separately asked to rank the necessary projects based on importance and urgency.[181] The white committee ranked all projects specifically for black schools in the bottom half of their rankings, while the black committee ranked all projects for the black schools in the top half.[182] Later, when monetary values were attributed to the required repairs, $2,030,150 was deemed necessary. From this sum, $235,500 was allotted to the black schools, averaging $78,500 per renovated school, and $1,474,650 was allotted to the white schools, averaging $210,664 per renovated school.[183]

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[177] TASD Board Meeting Minutes, January 27, 1958.

[178] TASD Board Meeting Minutes, August 24, 1959.

[179] TASD Board Meeting Minutes, February 9, 1956.

[180] TASD Board Meeting Minutes, February 6, 1956.

[181] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, May 15, 1958. Full text in Appendix V.

[182] Ibid.

[183] Ibid.

As motions regarding the improvement of black schools increased in magnitude following *Brown*, the TISD Board also increased the detail of their descriptions and assertions of improvement.

> The members of the [TISD] Board of Education were congratulated by Supt. Howard for enriching the Negro school program and broadening its scope of services. He pointed out that proper framework would be put into motion to accomplish this objective. An administrative arrangement could now be perfected to bring about and install a new feature of the education program for the Negro Schools by adding counseling and guidance services. The Board of education previously enriched the Negro School's education program by adding a Visiting Teacher, a Physical Education Supervisor, and installing a Special Education Program by inaugurating the phase of Speech therapy for the school year 1951-51; adding the testing and Supervisory Program for the school year 1952-53; adding another phase of the Special Education Program, a Unit for the Mentally Retarded for the school year 1954-55; and further enriched the Negro education program by adding a School Nurse for the 1955-56 school year.[184]

While these improvements were beneficial for black students, the Board's self-congratulatory tone suggests victory where structural equality was only beginning to be born. As federal pressures to desegregate increased, additional improvements were made to the black school facilities to bolster the appearance of equality. TISD board minutes frequently listed ways in which the black schools had been improved, followed by statements such as "from all reports, the Colored citizens recognize the problem [of fewer offered courses] and appreciate the efforts being made to solve it."[185]

> The Negro parent-population of the Texarkana Independent School District is happy and contented in their current educational environment and will continue to live a peaceful and happy school life, it is hoped, by sending their children to schools in their own [neighborhoods] where their educational opportunities are richer, as long as the parents have genuine educational concern at heart for their children. The Negro teachers and Negro principals have this same attitude and

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[184] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, February 7, 1956.

[185] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, August 7, 1956 & August 13, 1956.

> thought and desire to see the Negro schools of Texarkana Independent School District are superior in most every respect to the average Negro school.[186]

While the general sentiments expressed in these statements may be accurate, it is noteworthy that the increase in attention to such improvements and inclusion of assertions pertaining to their positive community reception first began to appear during this time.

Aside from the physical quality of the buildings themselves, the inequality in curriculum and offered programs were an area in which even greater improvements needed to be made.

> The [TISD] Board gave considerable discussion to the welfare of the testing and guidance program inaugurated for the Negro Schools. A compiled summary report presenting White and Negro comparisons on achievement tests and on mental maturity tests was thoroughly studied by the Board. The Board is greatly concerned about the wide gap of differences in this instance and is continuing its thinking and study on how to improve the Negro program of education. The Board of Education has provided new buildings with increased facilities for the Negroes; has broadened the scope of the curriculum and has enriched the curriculum for the Negroes; and has added the services of a testing and guidance specialist to give continued direction to the on-going Negro education program. Motion was made by Mr. Williams with second by Mr. Jones continuing for the Negroes the testing and guidance program as directed and administered by Mr. Bone, Director of guidance for the Texarkana Independent School District. Carried.[187]

The Board "broadened the scope of the curriculum" by including "an additional Homemaking Unit; by increasing the Distributive Education Program from a one-half unit to a three-fourths unit; and by installing a Physical Education Program," none of which impacted core curriculum subjects.[188] The deeper issues behind the discrepancies in test results are paralleled by quantity and quality of textbooks supplied to each school. When the TISD Board placed orders for the 1956-1957 school year, the white schools received 21 new sets of

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[186] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, August 7, 1956 & August 13, 1956.

[187] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, October 16, 1956.

[188] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, August 7, 1956.

textbooks, whereas the black schools only received 12 new sets of textbooks.[189] The majority of books the black schools did receive were hand-me-downs from the white schools, a fact not lost on the students who received them. Reverend Tony Patterson (THS '69) remembered, "They would provide the books for the grade levels during the elementary experience, and I guess during the high school experience… There were some new books in there but the majority of them were used and signed… We did kind of notice that."[190] These differences in educational materials culminated in differences in how prepared students felt for the collegiate level. In 1958, 51 students from Texas High School took tests for admission to the University of Texas at Austin, compared to only 16 students from Dunbar High School.[191]

While less information is available regarding testing and materials within the TASD minutes, there is one department in which inequality is addressed: the library. In 1961, the North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges set new regulations pertaining to the "number of volumes and annual expenditure required for member school libraries."[192] Arkansas High School, with an enrollment of 747 students, was required to have 4,488 volumes. They were short by 742. Washington High School, with an enrollment of 760 students, was required to have 4,540 volumes. They were short by 2,427.

Though the segregated school system operated under the guise of equality, these specific instances prove how impossible "separate but equal" truly was, independent of the ethics behind the phrase. From the superior funding allotted to white facilities to the hand-me-down materials given to the black schools, the infrastructures of the two systems were incomparable. These

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[189] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, December 13, 1955.

[190] Patterson, Rev. Tony. Personal interview.

[191] TISD Board Meeting Minutes, February 25, 1958.

[192] TASD Board Meeting Minutes, January 23, 1961.

differences affected students' futures, the futures of their children and so on. More than updated books, integration provided black students with the same opportunities as their white peers, which was critical in the pursuit of social equality.

These themes go beyond buildings, books, sports teams and neighborhoods. They showcase the savage inequalities present before and after integration and the pains taken to rectify them. In the midst of the technicalities of the people and plans that slowly brought desegregation about, the intrinsic value of the pursuit, and what was lost to achieve it, cannot be forgotten. The students who lived through this time do not remember the many amendments to the integration plan or the minutiae of the HEW's requirements. They remember having hand-me-down books, exclusion from sports teams, leaving schools within their own neighborhoods and being bussed across town, losing teachers that knew their parents, and fighting for a sense of belonging in their new environment. These are the elements of the story that cannot be forgotten to ensure they are not repeated.

CONCLUSION

By isolating the transition from segregation to integration within this community biography, the impacts of slavery, *de jure* segregation, *de facto* segregation and pervasive racism are easily recognized. This narrative provides a canvas upon which deeper conclusions can be drawn: why this history matters, how the community was impacted then, and how it is still impacted today.

This particular history matters because it illustrates the systematic efforts of the schools, community and local government to perpetuate the segregated school system. The rhetoric used to justify delaying integration is a case study in might versus right. Cities such as Texarkana feared the slow chipping away of the "tradition" they had built their lives upon, and segregation was one such tradition that was hard to give up. Texarkana's history is not important because it is unique, but rather because it is not. In remembering how Americans delayed and defied school integration and the reverberating impacts of that decision, we can ensure that such grievances are not repeated.

In looking at the impact of school integration as it occurred, the strongest theme is community: its division, loss and ultimate attempts to rebuild. The sociological principal of homophily states that individuals tend to associate with others similar to them. From its roots in slavery, Texarkana was established as a society that inherently believed different races could not coexist equally. Community was found in schools, neighborhoods and churches that were racially homogeneous. But with integration, comfort and belonging were lost as prejudices were confronted. The fight to find community within the new order forced black and white students to find a new basis of homophily other than the color of their skin.

The greatest modern impact of school desegregation is undoubtedly the opportunity it provided all students to learn together. While racism is by no means a thing of the past, the co-education of children regardless of race has helped foster greater empathy. Students' educational potentials are no longer dependent upon their skin color, but rather on effort and merit. But to cite integration as an instant cure to racial inequality would be ignorant.

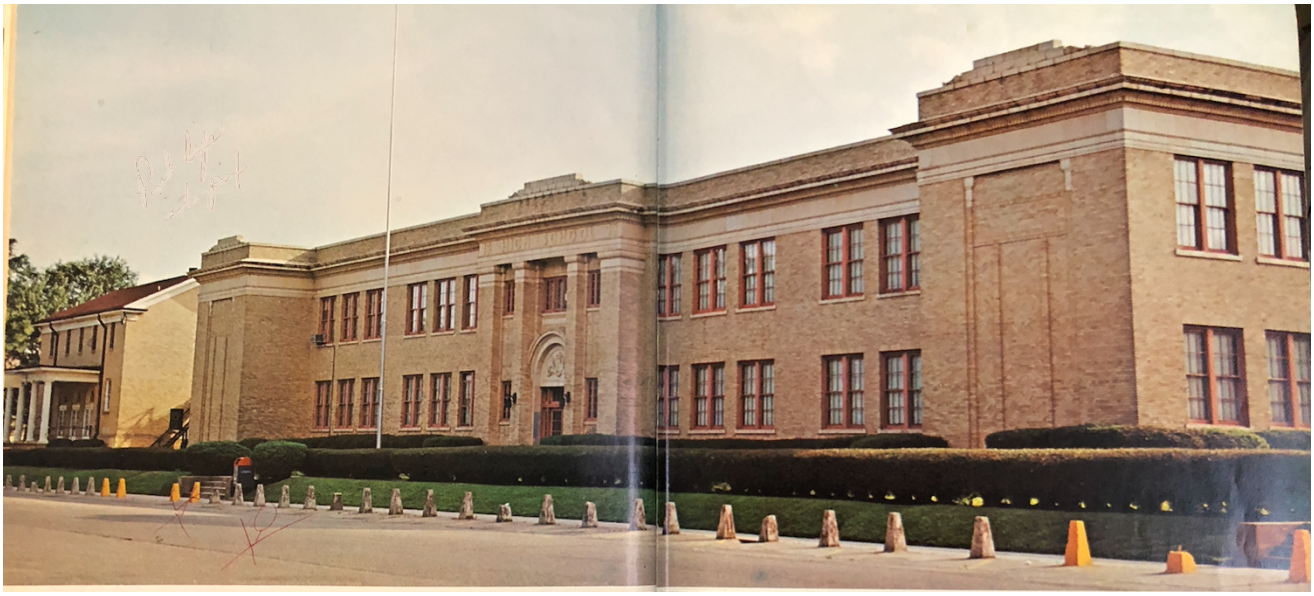
Public education is the primary, if not only, vehicle by which the American dream can be achieved. Injustices within this system must be remembered because their ramifications can poison generations upon generations. Children in Texarkana schools today have never known segregated schools, but their grandparents and great-grandparents did. Until Advanced Placement course enrollment and total school enrollment have identical racial demographics, equal opportunity within schools will only be an exterior illusion.

This history should serve as a reminder of the injuries caused by segregated schooling until its eradication in 1969 and by the fallout surrounding integration. The educational, psychological and relational damages caused by the system cannot be forgotten. In the words of Donald Nelson, "If you don't learn from history, you're doomed to die from it."[193]

[193] Nelson, Donald. Personal interview.

Map of Texarkana in the greater United States

Texarkana Post Office, sitting on the State Line - Texarkana Gazette Photo, 2018

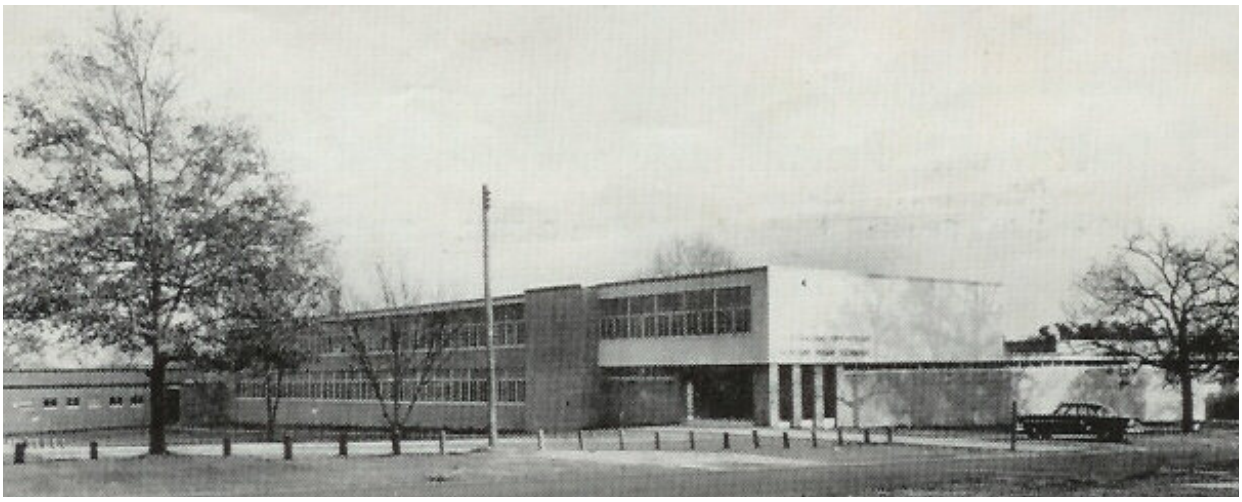


Texas High School Main Building, 1967

Texarkana College (1927-1953) & Texas High School Library Building (1953-1967)

Texas High School on Kennedy Lane, 1970

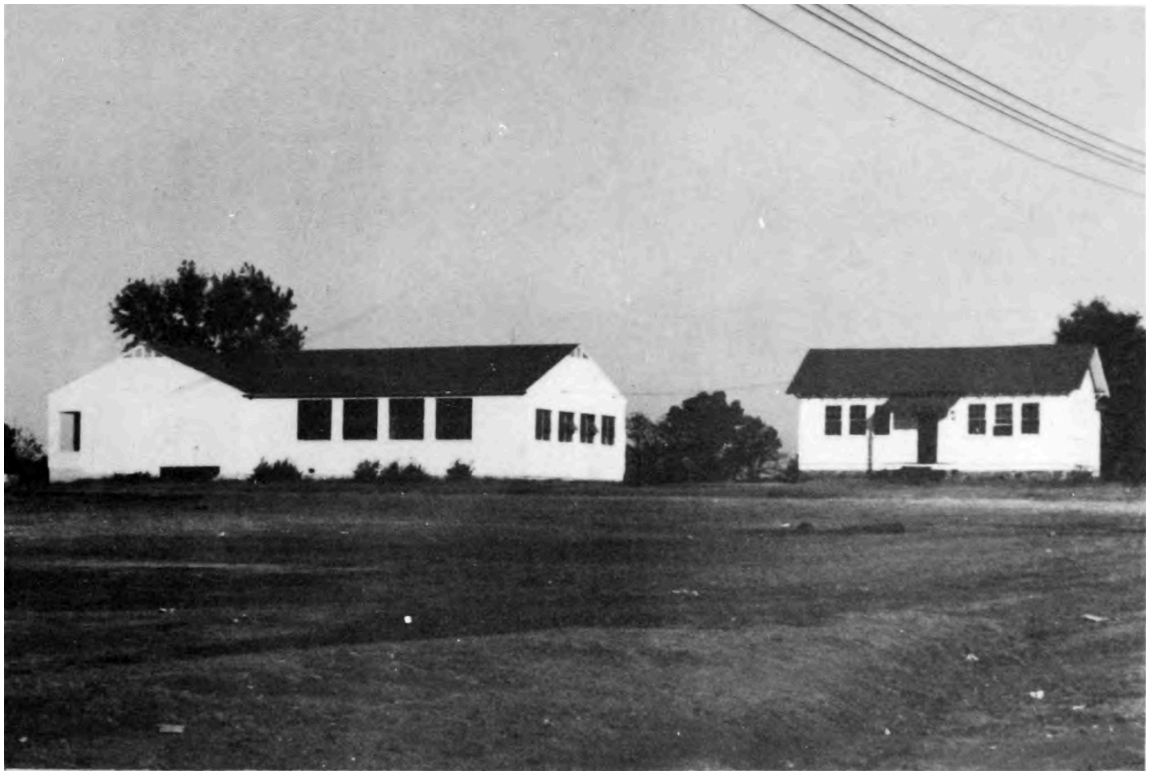
Dunbar High School, 1955



Arkansas High School on Jefferson Avenue, 1957

Arkansas High School, 1914-1954

Washington High School Main Building, 1948



Washington High School Shop & T.I. Building, 1948

Aerial view of Texarkana College, 1960

Texarkana College riot, photographer Joe Scherschel for LIFE Magazine, 1956

Jessalyn Gray and Steven Poster arriving for class

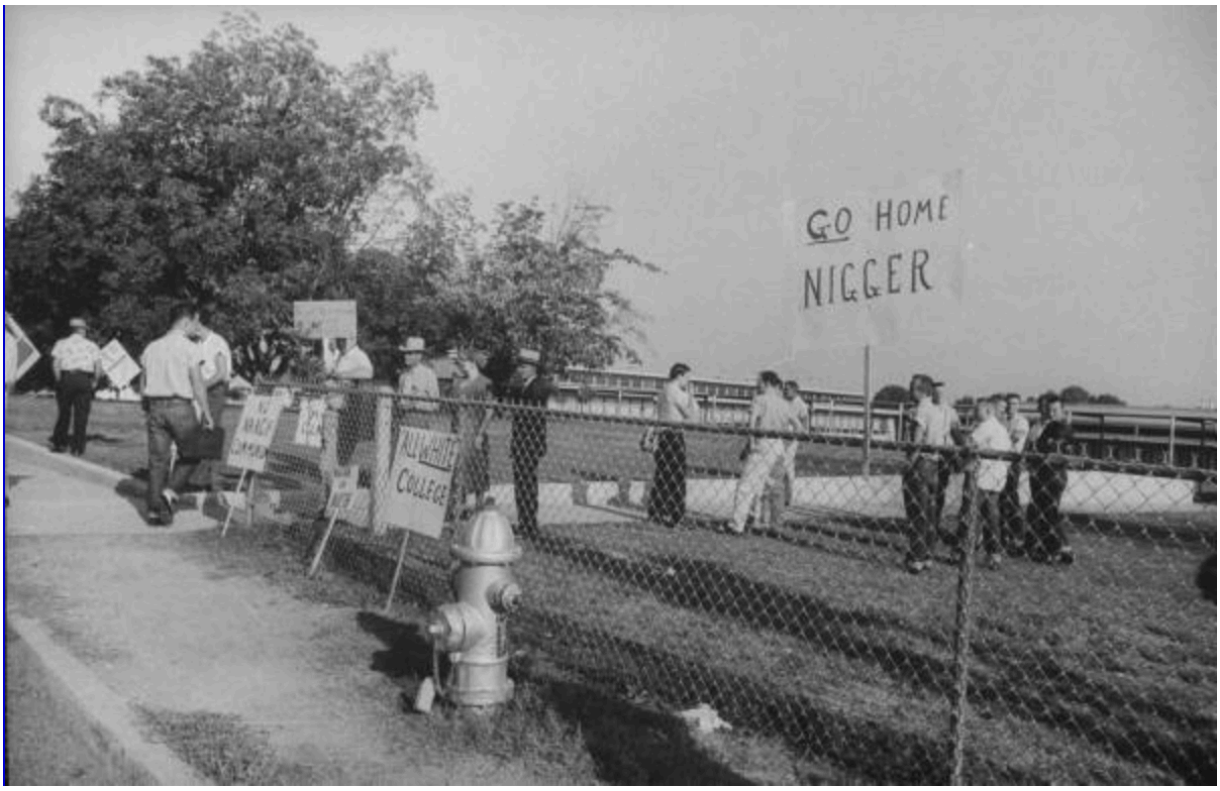
Texarkana College riot, photographer Joe Scherschel, 1956

Texarkana College riot, photographer Joe Scherschel, 1956

Texarkana College riot, photographer Joe Scherschel, 1956

Texarkana College riot, photographer Joe Scherschel for LIFE Magazine, 1956

Texas Ranger at the Texarkana College riot, photographer Joe Scherschel, 1956



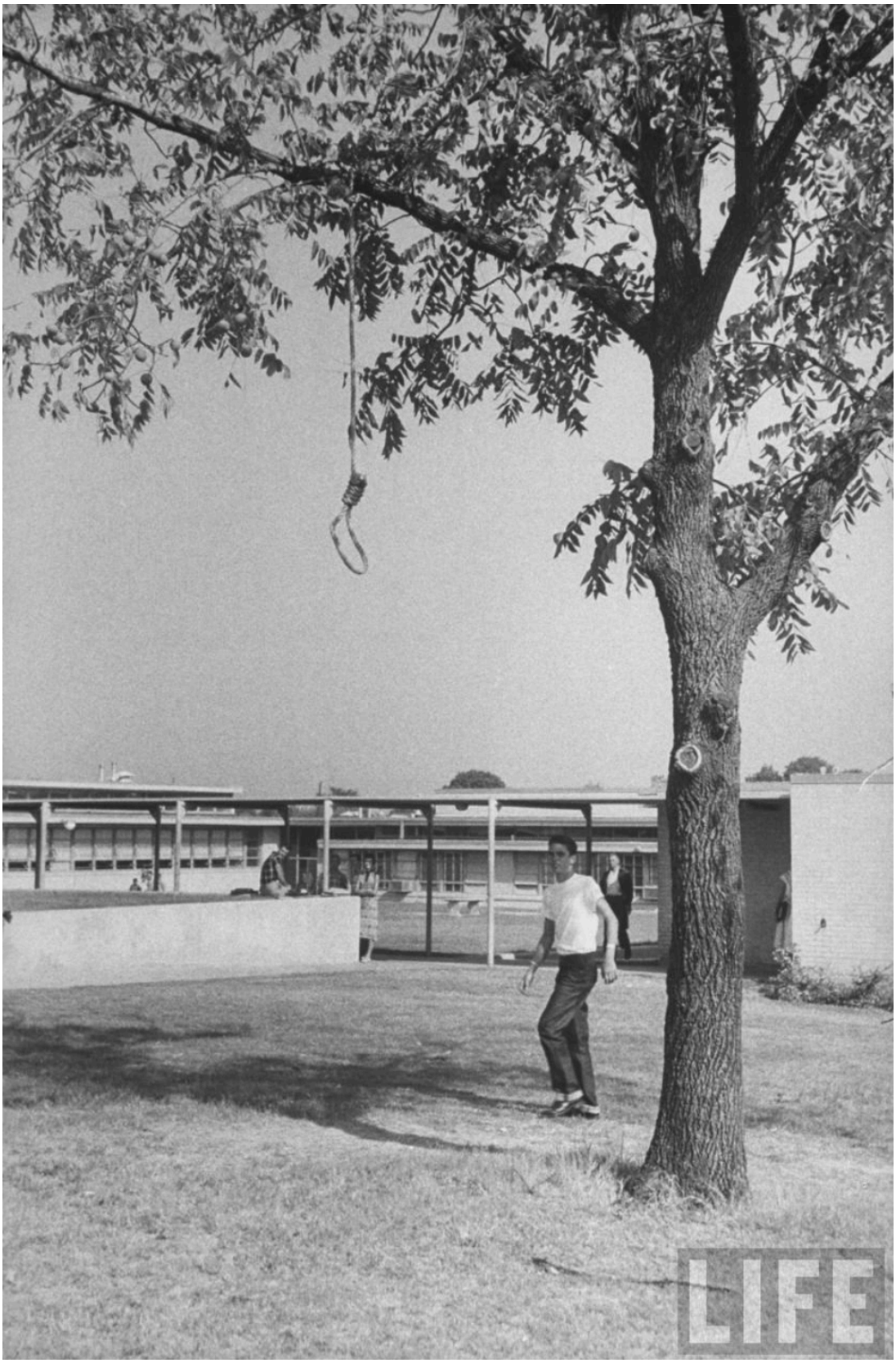
Texarkana College riot, photographer Joe Scherschel, 1956

Steven Poster facing white mob, Texarkana College riot, photographer Joe Scherschel, 1956

Texarkana College riot, photographer Joe Scherschel, 1956

White students reading about the Texarkana College riot, photographer Joe Scherschel, 1956

Child with picket sign at the Texarkana College riot, photographer Joe Scherschel, 1956



Texarkana College riot, photographer Joe Scherschel for LIFE Magazine, 1956

TIMELINE

1889:

Texas High School is established for white students in Texarkana, Texas as the first public high school.

1896:

The Supreme Court rules segregation is constitutional in *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision. It finds "separate but equal" treatment does not violate the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution and provides legal justification for Jim Crow laws.

Arkansas High School is established for white students in Texarkana, Arkansas.

1916:

Dunbar High School is established for black students in Texarkana, Texas.

1926:

Washington High School is established for black students in Texarkana, Arkansas.

1927:

Texarkana College is established.

1948:

The University of Arkansas is desegregated.

1952:

***Whitmore v. Stilwell* is filed against Texarkana College's President Stilwell by nine Dunbar High School students.**

The Supreme Court begins hearing oral arguments in *Brown v. Board of Education.*

1954:

The Supreme Court rules segregation is unconstitutional in *Brown v. Board of Education.*

1955:

U.S. District Judge Joseph Sheehy dismissed *Whitmore v. Stilwell.*

First recorded mention of desegregation by the TISD School Board in their meeting minutes.

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit reversed Judge Sheehy's ruling on *Whitmore v. Stilwell.*

1956:

The University of Texas is desegregated.

Jessalyn Gray and Steven Poster attempt to integrate Texarkana College. White mob prevents them from entering.

NAACP Lawyer U. Simpson Tate files a complaint against Texarkana College on behalf of Jessalyn Gray and Steven Poster. U.S. District Judge Joseph Sheehy throws out the claim.

State of Texas v. NAACP was brought before U.S. District Judge Otis T. Dunagan in Tyler, Texas. He ultimately placed injunction on the NAACP the following year.

1957:

Little Rock Nine desegregate Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas.

1963:

Linda Ruth Tolbert and Albirda P. Briley successfully desegregate Texarkana College.

First recorded mention of desegregation by the TASD School Board in their meeting minutes.

President John F. Kennedy is assassinated.

1964:

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is adopted. Title IV of the Act authorizes the federal government to file school desegregation cases and prohibits discrimination in programs and activities, including schools, receiving federal financial assistance.

TISD and TASD schools begin Freedom of Choice period.

1968:

Martin Luther King, Jr. is assassinated.

The Supreme Court orders segregated school systems be dismantled "root and branch," identifying five factors (facilities, staff, faculty, extracurricular activities and transportation) be used to gauge a school's compliance in *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County.*

Texas High School is completely integrated, other TISD schools still operate under Freedom of Choice regulations.

1969:

TISD schools completely integrate.

1970:

TASD schools completely integrate.

TISD SCHOOLS

1951	1955	1958	1962	1969
WHITE SCHOOLS				
Texas Senior High	Texas Senior High	Texas Senior High	Texas Senior High	Texas Senior High
Texas Junior High	Texas Avenue Jr. High	Texas Avenue Jr. High	F. Ben Pierce Jr. High	Pine Street Jr. High
	Westlawn Jr. High (1955)	Westlawn Jr. High	Westlawn Jr. High	Westlawn Jr. High
Elementary Schools:				
Beverly	Beverly	Beverly	Beverly	Beverly
Grim	Grim	Grim	Grim	Grim
Highland Park	Highland Park	Highland Park	Highland Park	Highland Park
Oaklawn	Oaklawn	Oaklawn	Oaklawn	Oaklawn
Spring Lake Park	Spring Lake Park	Spring Lake Park	Spring Lake Park	Spring Lake Park
Central	Central	Central (1962)		
			Wake Village (1962)	Wake Village
			Kennedy	Kennedy
				Nash (1963)
BLACK SCHOOLS				
Dunbar Jr. – Sr. High	Dunbar Jr. – Sr. High	Dunbar Jr. – Sr. High	Dunbar Jr. – Sr. High	Southwest School
Elementary Schools:				
Jamison	Jamison	Jamison	Jamison	Spruce Street
Newtown	Newtown	Newtown	Goree	Lincoln Street
Jones	Jones	Jones	Jones	Fifteenth Street
Sunset	Sunset	Sunset	Sunset	Sunset (1970)
Whitaker Elem (1954)				

TASD SCHOOLS

1954	1955	1956	1958	1964	1966	1968	1970	1975
WHITE SCHOOLS								
Arkansas High	Arkansas High	Arkansas High	Arkansas High	Arkansas High	Arkansas High	Arkansas High	Arkansas High	Arkansas High
Texarkana Jr. High	Texarkana Jr. High	Jefferson Ave. Jr. High	Jefferson Ave. Jr. High	Jefferson Ave. Jr. High	Jefferson Ave. Jr. High	Jefferson Ave. Jr. High (1968)		
North Heights Jr. High	North Heights Jr. High	North Heights Jr. High	North Heights Jr. High	North Heights Jr. High	North Heights Jr. High	North Heights Jr. High	North Heights Jr. High	North Heights Jr. High
					College Hill Jr. High (1966)	College Hill Jr. High	College Hill Jr. High	College Hill Jr. High
Elementary Schools:								
Sixth Grade Sch.	Central	Central	Central	Central	Central	Central	Central	Central (1975)
Fairview	Fairview	Fairview	Fairview	Fairview	Fairview	Fairview	Fairview	Fairview
College Hill	College Hill	College Hill	College Hill	College Hill	College Hill	College Hill	College Hill	College Hill
Union	Union	Union	Union	Union	Union	Union	Union	Union
North Heights	North Heights	North Heights	North Heights	Vera Kilpatrick	Vera Kilpatrick	Vera Kilpatrick	Vera Kilpatrick	Vera Kilpatrick
Central (1955)								
BLACK SCHOOLS								
Washington Jr. - Sr. High	Washington Jr. - Sr. High	Washington Jr. - Sr. High	Washington Jr. - Sr. High	Washington Jr. - Sr. High	Washington Jr. - Sr. High	Washington Jr. High	Washington Sixth Grade	Washington Middle
Elementary Schools:								
Carver	Carver	Carver	Carver	Carver	Carver	Carver	Carver "Special Use"	Carver Kindergarten
Mandeville	Mandeville	Mandeville	Mandeville	Mandeville	Mandeville	?????		
		W.T. Daniels (1956)	W.T. Daniels	W.T. Daniels	W.T. Daniels (1966)			
Orr	Orr	Orr	????					
Hervey Elem	Hervey Elem	Hervey Elem	Hervey Elem (1958)					
College Hill Colored (1954)								

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Appendix I

Texarkana Gazette, "PUBLIC SCHOOL SEGREGATION BANNED: Texarkana's Reaction to High Court's Racial Decision Mixed," May 18, 1954:

The local reaction to the Supreme Court's ruling against segregation in the public schools was mixed. Some were surprised, others were not. Some were glad, and others were fearful that it had come too soon.

Still trying to digest the significance of the historic ruling, people throughout the city were waiting to see when it would take effect. News of the decision spread rapidly when the announcement was made in the press and over the radio.

A number of high school students came to the newsroom of the Gazette and Daily News during their noon hour to get confirmation of the first report.

Superintendent H.W. Stilwell of the Texarkana, Texas school system had no comment to make. Superintendent W.M. Locke of the Texarkana, Ark. [sic], school system said it presented a situation that would require a lot of thought, cooperation and understanding on the part of everyone.

"We are doing everything possible to equalize our programs," he said at noon Monday. "I hope everyone will give us time to work out the problems. This is not something that can be worked out overnight."

The decision came as no surprise to Miller County Schools Supervisor Wallace Ely who said that although it came a little sooner than he expected, "it had to come sooner or later." He saw it as a natural consequence of the provisions of the Constitution, and he believed the Negroes have prepared the white people somewhat by their service in World War II.

A number of the school trustees contacted Monday afternoon declined to comment on the matter. However, Dr. Karlton Kemp of the Arkansas school board said he did not think nonsegregation would be feasible in the South.

Dr. Kemp said: "I don't think it is feasible. We are not ready for it, we must work out some logical plan so that we can gradually undertake the status of nonsegregation. The only likely course seems to be that planned by some states… private education," he said.

"It has been the policy of the school system to try to improve the local Negro schools and we have had nothing but good reports from them regarding that policy. There are more Negro teachers with masters degrees than white teachers with masters degrees in Texarkana."

State Senator Jack V. Clark, who last December proposed a study of the educational needs of Arkansas, was notified Monday that the committee on education of the Arkansas Legislative Council will meet 9 a.m. Friday in Little Rock.

Clark made a series of recommendations which provided for any reversal of the South's public school segregation law as happened Monday.

Ben Fort, superintendent of the Bowie County schools [sic], wanted a little time to digest the news. However, he said: "If that's the court's ruling, there's nothing we can do but abide by it."

The Rev. B.C. Steward, pastor of the Union Hill Baptist Church and a prominent Negro leader said:

"It is most gratifying to know that the Supreme Court of these United States has granted educational equality to 15 million colored Americans. Yet, we realize that this will create a challenge to both the white and colored citizeny [sic] of our section of the country, for tradition cannot be changed without adjustment on both sides."

"We are hopeful," the Rev. Stewart said, "that the people of Texarkana and its immediate vicinity will meet this challenge with common sense, a Christian spirit and the realization that we are living in an age of change and that no problem is so great that those with the will and with the intelligence cannot solve."

John D. Raffaelli, attorney for the Texarkana, Texas, school board, said he would not know the status of the two discrimination cases ruling against the school system until he saw the Supreme Court decision.

"If it abolishes segregation outright, the question becomes [indecipherable]. One of the suits has been pending for five years, and the other for three years.

Raffaelli said the school board would follow whatever is directed by the decision.

"It is going to create a lot of problems that will take a lot of study for their solution," he said at noon Monday. "I consider that the people of the South… white and black… will regret this decision for many years."

Robert Htwthorne [sic], an 18-year-old junior at Arkansas Senior High, was more blunt about it.

"I'm moving back to Atlanta, Ga., to go to a private school," he said. "They've been talking about closing up the public schools there if segregation is abolished."

Hawthorne's parents live in Atlanta. He's been staying with a sister here for the past two years.

The Supreme Court ruling was good news to John J. Jones, a foremost Negro leader of Texarkana.

"I hail the decision of the United States Supreme Court ruling out segregation in the public schools and making available to the Negroes equal educational opportunities, and equal protection to all citizens, and every right guaranteed by the United States Constitution."

Jones hailed "any decision affecting the civil rights of any citizen which will change the status of second class citizenship of the Negroes of this great commonwealth."

John Wainwright, Negro businessman, greeted the announcement with restrained enthusiasm. "Well, I personally am very glad," he said. "I think it is the American way that there should be no second rate citizens."

He did think, however, "that this must be gradual in application."

"It can't happen overnight, but I do think we are entitled to it."

Jauquita Hood of 547 North Arsenal, a student at Texarkana College, said adjustments will have to be made in both races. J.L. Byrd, a college freshman from Simms, said it would be hard for him to accept non-segregation.

Over at Texas Senior High, [Jim] Haltom of 1603 West Ninth, president of the senior class, said "the Negro race is trying to make social advances in 100 years that it took the white race 2000 years to attain."

Paul Caver, a Razorback football player and president of the Arkansas Senior Class, was succinct. "I don't believe it will work in the South."

Another Texas High student, Brooks Fowler, said he did not see why the Negroes would want to attend the white schools "since equal facilities have been provided for them."

Seventeen-year-old Firman Alford of Arkansas Senior High said: "I don't think it will be as bad as it looks. I don't think the Negroes will want to go into the white schools."

Margaret Ann Vinson, 17, Arkansas student, said she was glad she was graduating from high school this spring. She too believed it would take time for the people to adjust to the decision.

Cecil Stewart of Dunbar High School for Negroes, a senior, said: "I think that it indicates progress in our American way of life, and there are several economic advantages from the standpoint of eliminating a dual school and having access to the local college."

Irene Neal of the ninth grade at Dunbar said it would be "beneficial since the expense of going away to school will be eliminated."

Dempsey Savannah, 19, a senior at Dunbar, said it would be "nice" for all students to go to school together. "I think it will work out."

Bernestine Hardy, 17, a Dunbar senior, said: "I wasn't looking for the decision this summer, and I am surprised by the ruling."

Appendix II

Excerpt from the TISD School Board Minutes, August 16, 1955 – first statement on integration:

The Board of Education, Texarkana Independent School District, met in regular session on August 16, 1955, in the Office of the Superintendent, with the following members present: Mr. Bain, Mr. Wood, Mr. Kelly, Mr. Jones, Mr. Haltom, Mr. Parker, and Mr. Williams. At this meeting Mr. Moss and Supt. Howard were present. The Texarkana Gazette was represented by Mr. Beasley…

Thereupon there came up for discussion the study being made by the Board with the advice of its attorney on the question of the abolition of segregation in the public schools.

Upon motion by Mr. Williams, seconded by Mr. Woods, the Board issued the following statement:

"The Board of Trustees of the Texarkana Independent School District is continuing its study of the desegregation problem in Texarkana under the Supreme Court decision. It was the unanimous decision of the Board that segregation would not be abolished in 1955.

"Texarkana, Texas, has a fine public school system. Most of its buildings are new and modern, and its construction program is continuing. Three new school buildings for the colored children have been built within the past seven years, and plans have been made to replace the only frame building still being used.

"Both the white and colored schools have won outstanding scholastic and athletic awards. The Board feels that primary responsibility is to see that the school system continues to be operated in the best interests of the school children.

"Our entire school system including its buildings, faculty, student activities, parent organizations, and athletic programs have been carefully built up since the school district was first formed. At all times it has been operated on a segregated basis.

"All records and system of student accounting, as well as its financial support, have been set up by the Texas Education Agency on a separate basis for white and colored students. The Board recognizes, and it should be apparent to all, that there is more involved than changing boundaries or moving students from one building to another.

"One important consideration is the matter of finances. The Gilmer-Aiken Law, under which Texas public schools operate and are financed, provides funds only for schools operated on a segregated basis. Until this law is changed, or the question has been resolved by Court decision, public schools operated in Texas on a non-segregated basis stand a chance of loosing [sic] their State funds. Our schools cannot operate on their present budgets without these funds. We are informed that a suit has been filed in another county in Texas seeking to enjoin the payment of State funds to schools operated on a non-segregated basis.

"The Board invites, and will gladly receive, any suggestion of a constructive nature from individuals or groups. If it becomes necessary, the Board will seek advice and assistance from qualified representatives of both races at the appropriate time.

"Progress of the study being made by the Board will be reported to the public from time to time. However, the Board recognizes its sole responsibility for finally establishing the policy under which the changes will be made, and asks the patience of all concerned.

"In the meantime, the Board will not tolerate or consider any efforts to provoke a premature decision."

Appendix III

Letter and Petition from NAACP to TISD, August 4, 1955:

P.O. Box 1395
Texarkana, Texas
August 4, 1955

Mr. Thomas A. Bain, President
Texarkana, Texas School Board
2009 Walnut Street
Texarkana, Texas

Sir:

Attached herewith two sets of petitions in behalf of the Negro parents and their children, residents of Texarkana, Texas, whose children are eligible to attend the public schools of this city, urging the Texarkana School Board to integrate their children in the school system.

Any assistance that we may render in a peaceful manner resolving this problem, feel free to call upon this organization.

Very truly yours,
Texarkana Branch N.A.A.C.P.

By_____
E. Melvin Jones – Rec. Sec'y.
P.O. Box 1395

PETITION

We, the undersigned, are the parents of children of school age entitled to attend and attending the public elementary and secondary high schools under your jurisdiction. As you undoubtedly know, the United States Supreme Court on May 17, 1954, ruled that the maintenance of racially segregated public schools is a violation of the Constitution of the United States, and on May 31, 1955, reaffirmed that principle and requires "good faith compliance at the earliest practicable date" with the federal courts authorized to determine whether local officials are proceeding in good faith.

We, therefore, call upon you to take immediate steps to reorganize the public schools under your jurisdiction on a non-discriminatory basis. As we understand it, you have the responsibility to reorganize the school systems under your control so that the children of public school age attending and entitled to attend public schools cannot be denied admission to any school or be required to attend any school solely because of race and color.

The May 31 decision of the Supreme Court, to us, means that the time for delay, evasion or procrastination is past. Whatever the difficulties in according our children their constitutional rights, it is clear that the school board must meet seek a solution to that question in accordance with the law of the land. As we interpret the decision, you are duty bound to take immediate concrete steps leading to early elimination of segregation in the public schools. Please rest assured of our willingness to serve in any way we can to aid you in dealing with this question.

The signing of this petition by me authorizes the Local Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to represent me and my school age children in all matters pertaining to the use and enjoyment of the public schools of this community. The NAACP is authorized to secure counsel for us when and where necessary and said counsel may appear before all agencies and administrative boards of this State to represent us; said counsel is authorized to appear in all courts to represent us and protect our rights and interests in the use, and enjoyment of the public schools of this community and this State.

NAME	ADDRESS
Frank J. Tubbs	2302 Bryant St. Texarkana, Tex.
Earline Simpson	2212 Bryant St. Texarkana, Tex.
Emma L. McGary	2210 Bryant St. Texarkana, Tex.
Gladys Rigsby	2201 Stevenson St. Texarkana, Tex.
Charlie Rigsby	2203 Stevenson St. Texarkana, Tex.
Jewell Maxwell	2011 Taylor St. Texarkana, Tex.
Talmadge Jones	2003 Taylor St. Texarkana, Tex.
W.H. Booze	2104 Taylor St.
Helen Johnson	2116 Taylor St., Texarkana, Tex.
Minnie B. Glenn	2133 Taylor St. Texarkana, Tex.
Grady Wallace, Sr.	2120 Taylor St. Texarkana, Tex.
Mary Atkins Anderson	2204 Taylor St. Texarkana, Tex.
Clote Stinson	2216 Taylor Texarkana Tex
Emma Montgomery	1603 West 23rd Street
David Cornelius	2212 Ball St. Texarkana, Texas
Thomas Stephens	2207 Ball St Texarkana Texas

Geraldine Walker	1606 W. 20 St Texarkana Texas
A C Young	2105 James St Texarkana
Jesse J. Randle	2020 James Texarkana Texas
Henry M. Harris	2110 James St Texarkana Texas
Elege Ware	2305 James St Texarkana Texas
Melzora Lollis	2306 James Texarkana, Tex
Charline Owens	2306 James St Texarkana Texas
Tom Lee Butler Sr	2309 James Street
Lizzie Mae Vines	2315 James Street
Lula Jones	2402 James St Texarkana Texas
Corine Samuel	2408 James St Texarkana Texas
Georgia Wilcox	2405 Ball St Texarkana
Corine Marshall	2406 Ball St Texarkana Texas
J R Bell	2400 Ball
Gertrude Casteel	1618 W 24th St Texarkana Texas
Robert Oscar Smith	2400 Bryant St Texarkana Texas
Elnora Norton	2404 Stevenson St. Texarkana Texas
Willie M. McFarland	2407 Stevenson Texarkana Tex
Elvie Burton	2412 Stevenson St. Texarkana Texas
Elizabeth Abner	2408 Stevenson St
Willie L. Holmes	1706 King St. Texarkana, Texas.
Cleo Darden	2419 Taylor Texarkana Tex
Frankie Sanders	Plant St. 1708 Texarkana Tex
Ardella Warren	1716 Plan St
Loyd Chiles	1802 Plan St Texarkana Texas
Clarice Brown	1914 Roseborg St Texarkana Tex
Willie C. Dewberry	1901 W 23rd Texas
Mary Jane Perry	2310 Chance St. Texarkana Texas
Leoda Hogan	2322 Chance St
Lula Mae Williams	2305 Bryant St.
George Strong	1110 Willis St
Lillie Bell Terry	1108 Willis St
Etta Graham	1217 Buchanan Ave
Clarence Grey	Rt #2 Box 43
Rosa Poston	Rt 2 Box 43
Sarah Kelly	Rt 2 Box 49
Birdie Mae Green	Rt 2 Box 56
Etric M. Hilso	1407 Buchanan St.
Ida E. Grant	1405 Buchanan Ave
Henry Harris	1509 North
R C Collins	1023 Short Phenie
Gracie Lee Williams	2412 W 18 St
Lee A. Smith	2409 W. 18th St.
A. J. Williams	1023 Short Phenie
Lovie Crump	1221 Oak Street
Joe Turner	202 Brown St.

Roscoe Lewis	712 Willis St.
Mildred Tolbert	721 Buchanan Str
Helen Ealey	1924 W 5th St.
Emma Johnson	712 Capp
Herbert Temple	903 Sulphur St
Gladys Martin	1016 Buchanan Ave
Ethel Lee Duson	1014 Capp St.
Bennie White	1010 Capp
J.P. Zachery	1010 Capp St.
Machalia Tumblin	1008 Capp St.
Carrie B. Benjamin	1110 Sulphur St.
Willlie Hopkins	1102 Sulphur St
Willie Mae Gaynes	1105 Sulphur St
Taylor – Leola Gurley	1107 Sulphur St
A. L. – Pearl Gurley	1119 Sulphur St
Bessie Mae Franklin	606 Capp St
Mary H. Johnson	1508 North St
Eddie Ree Riley	606 Capp St
Fannie Mae Williams	1505 Lee Street
Mary Ella Adams	1509 Lee Street
Annie Clark	1619 Lee St
Odessia Lewis	1621 Lee St
Carrie B. Blaylock	1608 Lee St
Eural Eddins	1426 Lee St.
Jimmie Young	115 Red Water St
Janie Mae Hawkins	825 Capp St
Willie Coran	711 Buchanan
Nora Lee Beasley	1424 North St.
Everlyn Maxwell	1210 Lee St.
Morris A. Neighbors	205 Stevens Court

Letter from TISD to NAACP, August 17, 1955:

August 17, 1955

Mr. E. Melvin Jones, Rec. Sec'y.
Texarkana Chapter N.A.A.C.P.
P.O. Box 1395
Texarkana, Texas

Sir:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of August 4, in which you enclose a petition signed by 92 parents and students requesting that immediate steps be taken to reorganize the public schools on a non-discriminatory basis.

I should like further to advise you and your petitioners that the School Board has already given many hours of serious study to this subject, and will continue to do so until the matter has been amicably and peaceably resolved in accordance with the decisions of the United States Supreme Court, and applicable laws governing the operations of the schools.

Very Truly yours,
Texarkana, Texas, School Board

By _____
T. A. Bain, President

Letter from National Association for the Advancement of Segregation to TISD, September 19, 1955:

September 19, 1955

Board of Trustees
Texarkana, Texas Independent School District
Texarkana, Texas

Gentlemen:

Herewith is submitted a petition sponsored by our organization, and with the help and co-operation of the parents and patrons of Texarkana. The petition is self explanatory, and explains the desires and wishes of the people, to the best of our belief.

Our organization is dedicated to must [sic] one thing: the preservation of our culture and way of life through segregation or separation of races, on a sensible and legal basis. We are duly and legally organized, incorporated and chartered under the laws of the State of Texas, and have a registered membership covering some ten states at present, and rapidly extending into other parts of the country.

A recap of history reveals that integration can lead to just one thing ultimately, that being an amalgamation of races. Two prime examples of the dangers of this are illustrated by the tremendous contribution that amalgamation made to the fall of Rome, and also the devastating effect which amalgamation had on ancient Greece. Greece was one [sic] a world power, as well as a center of culture and learning, as you all well know. This era was brought to an end with the complete amalgamation of ethiopian [sic] slaves with native Greeks. Prior to this the Greeks were of fair complexion and were fair haired. We all well know the general appearance of the Greeks now. No longer do the Greeks produce the great world leaders and statesmen nor do they produce any more great philosophers as ancient Greece did.

May God grant that we be spared from this abominable fate.

Yours very truly,
Doyle Davis, Jr., Secretary
National Association for the
Advancement of Segregation

Letter from TISD to National Association for the Advancement of Segregation, September 26, 1955:

September 26, 1955

Mr. Doyle Davis, Jr., Secretary
National Association for the
Advancement of Segregation
Texarkana, Texas

Dear Mr. Davis:

I have been requested by the Board of Education to reply to your letter dated September 19, 1955, with which you presented sixteen petitions from your Association.

Your letter was read by me to the Board and the petitions have been placed in the Board File. The representative of the Texarkana Gazette attending our meeting was shown the letter and the petitions. This is the same procedure the Board followed when it received the letter and petitions from the Texarkana Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The Board of Education, after months and months of grave concern and serious consideration, released a lengthy and comprehensive statement concerning the education of Texarkana's White pupils and Texarkana's Negro pupils, which is included in the minutes dated August 16, 1955, and which was released to the Texarkana Gazette and appeared, I believe, in the morning issue dated August 17, 1955.

Among other things this statement included: "The Board of Trustees of the Texarkana Independent School District is continuing its study of the desegregation problem in Texarkana under the Supreme Courts decision. It was the unanimous decision of the Board that segregation would not be abolished in 1955… The Board invites, and will gladly receive, any suggestions of a constructive nature from individuals or groups. If it becomes necessary, the Board will seek advice and assistance from qualified representatives of both races at the appropriate time…. In the meantime, the Board will not tolerate or consdier [sic] any efforts to provoke a premature decision."

We appreciate your deep concern over this important matter. The Board appreciates serious concern from all individuals and all groups in Texarkana pointed toward the educational welfare of the boys and girls of our city. The total pupil population is made up of both White and Negro pupil population [sic]. The best educational advantages that can be furnished both sets of pupil population will develop better future citizens for Texarkana.

Yours very truly,
T. A. Bain, President
Board of Education
Texarkana ISD

Appendix IV

Excerpt from the TISD School Board Minutes, August 13, 1957 – segregated registration plan:

TEXARKANA INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT

Office of the Superintendent

Board of Education
Texarkana Independent School District
Texarkana, Texas

Gentlemen:

I should like to present the following administrative arrangement that appears feasible concerning scholastic enrollment in our school system for your consideration and further direction.

(1) Should a Negro pupil appear in the classroom of a White school, the classroom teacher will courteously take the Colored pupil to the Principal's office. (Same procedure to be applied should a white pupil appear in a Negro school).

(2) The Principal will telephone the Negro Principal of the Colored school in which the pupil was last enrolled. The Colored Principal will come to the White Principal's office to receive the Negro pupil for registration in his school. (Same procedure should a white pupil appear in a Negro school).

(3) On the way to the home school of the Colored Principal and Colored pupil, the Principal might take the pupil to another Negro School for registration, should he be requested to do so, change of residence during the summer of some condition might cause this pupil to prefer registering at a different Colored School. It might be that the pupil might request the Colored Principal to just take him or her home and remark that he or she does not wish to enroll at all. The Principal will so do after talking to the pupil and trying to persuade him or her to go ahead and enroll in some Colored School. Should all efforts to encourage the pupil to register in one of Texarkana's fine Negro Schools fail, then the child will be permitted to get out of the car and go on into his parent's house, as by this time the Negro Principal would have reached the residence. The Negro Principal will talk to the parents along the same line of conversation and if the pupil is still not interested in registering in his school, then all efforts will be considered as having failed. In this case, the Visiting Teacher for the Colored Schools will be notified and proper procedures by her will be taken in order to try and get the pupil to attend his home school. (Same procedure should a white pupil appear in a Negro School).

(4) The Counselor for the Colored Schools will be notified, and the case will be placed in his hands for additional handling.

(5) The Superintendent's office will be notified by each Principal involved in any described instance, at all times during the development of the situation.

I have covered these 5 steps thoroughly with all our Principals. They understand every step. The Colored Principals think it is a good administrative arrangement, also. As each Colored Principal has seemed to think, all our Negro children are well satisfied with their home schools and want to attend that school if not influenced to do otherwise. The White Principals and the Negro Principals have said that they do not believe any such instances will arise but have agreed that we should be administratively prepared to meet the situation, in order that it might be worked out as pleasantly as possible for all.

Sincerely,
/s/
Dale E. Howard
Superintendent of Schools

** The five points of the above letter were originally adopted in August 1957 and were subsequently adopted each August through 1961. The 1962-1963 school year was the first for which this plan was not revived. It was later referred to as the "Registration Plan."*

Appendix V

TISD School Board Minutes, May 15, 1958 – Visitation Committee findings regarding school facility improvements and funding:

REPORT OF VISITATION COMMITTEE

May 15th, 1958
******

The Visitation Committees, having visited all schools in the Texarkana Independent School District, met and discussed in detail the present school plant facilities and a means of correcting the obvious deficiencies.

A program of renovating and of new construction that would care for our present school plant needs and for a normal growth in our schools within the next ten years was discussed and is hereby presented to the Board of Education for its consideration.

This report is a resume' [sic] of events which have occurred at meetings held following the recent tour of the Texarkana, Texas, school systems by the Visitation Committee composed of two representatives from the white and colored schools' Parent-Teacher Associations.

Room usage and enrollment charts, plus approximate construction costs were compiled following the tour and were presented to the Visitation Committee for their study and comments. It was gratifying to witness the interest and constructive comments presented by these groups at the meetings.

Discussion centered around the capacity loads now being carried by all elementary schools, the need for additional facilities in the schools, and re-building of those that have deteriorated beyond the point of feasible and economical renovation. It was pointed out that the maintenance program should be greatly increased.

It was also pointed out that the tax rate in the Texarkana Independent School District was considerably lower than that of neighboring cities with comparable population. It was recommended that the Board of Education explore the possibility of selling Central School and using the money for other needed projects.

As a final step, the groups were invited to indicate their preference by number as to what they considered to be the most necessary project. For example, a new building at Highland Park could receive a number "one" or it could receive a number "five" priority. The priority numbers of each member of the Committee were tabulated and given a point value in order to arrive at the overall project priority.

The program is as follows with projects listed in order of their importance as determined by the Committee.

WHITE VISITATION COMMITTEE:

1. Renovation and repairing of schools to be used for some years to come and replacing of antiquated equipment.
2. Renovating and re-equipping the Senior High School science department and renovating the main building of the Senior High School including painting and providing floor covering.
3. Construct at Oaklawn eight classrooms and a cafetorium to replace the old "Aiken School Building."
4. Construct at Spring Lake Park three general classrooms, two special classrooms and a cafetorium.
5. Construct at Highland Park School ten classrooms, cafetorium, offices, and administrative areas.
6. Construct a new six room elementary school with cafetorium on the "Lumpkin" property.
7. Construct at Newtown School* eight classrooms, cafetorium, offices and administrative areas.
8. Construct at Dunbar High School,* band music and choral rehearsal rooms and art room.
9. Construct at Sunset School* one classroom and cafetorium.
10. Construct at Grim School a new building of eighteen classrooms, offices, and administrative areas.
11. Construct a new Junior High School (to replace Texas Avenue Junior High School) sixteen classrooms, two science rooms, library, audio-visual room, auditorium, cafeteria, gymnasium, manual training and home economics.
12. To provide for a normal growth in the school district in the next 10 years:

a. Six classrooms for Senior High School
b. Ten white elementary classrooms
c. Four Junior High School classrooms
d. Five colored elementary classrooms,* and
e. Five classrooms at Dunbar*

COLORED VISITATION COMMITTEE:

1. Construct at Newtown School* eight classrooms, cafetorium, offices and administrative areas.
2. Construct at Highland Park School ten classrooms, cafetorium, offices, and administrative areas.
3. Construct at Dunbar High School,* band music and choral rehearsal rooms and art room.
4. Construct at Spring Lake Park three general classrooms, two special classrooms and a cafetorium.
5. Construct at Sunset School* one classroom and cafetorium.
6. Construct at Grim School a new building of eighteen classrooms, offices, and administrative areas.
7. Construct a new Junior High School (to replace Texas Avenue Junior High School) sixteen classrooms, two science rooms, library, audio-visual room, auditorium, cafeteria, gymnasium, manual training and home economics.
8. Renovating and re-equipping the Senior High School science department and renovating the main building of the Senior High School including painting and providing floor covering.

9. Construct at Oaklawn eight classrooms and a cafetorium to replace the old "Aiken School Building."
10. Construct a new six room elementary school with cafetorium on the "Lumpkin" property.

The cost of the above program to the school district, not including the cost of renovation and re-equipping (Item #1 as determined by the white visitation committee) to be approximately $2,000,000.00.

As a final indication of their intense interest in this program, the committee favored petitioning the Board to call an election covering Senate Bill 116 to acquire sufficient funds to make a substantial beginning on the above building program.

PRELIMINARY COST ESTIMATES FOR A BUILDING PROGRAM

VISITATION COMMITTEE

Texarkana Independent School District

C. E. Boyd – Chairman ***** April 21st, 1958

HIGHLAND PARK SCHOOL:

8 classrooms, multi-purpose room seating 400
offices and administration areas ---------- $173,000.00

Equipment and teaching aids ---------- $21,000.00

$194,000.00

OAKLAWN SCHOOL:

8 classrooms, multi-purpose room seating 500
toilet facilities ----------$151,000.00

Equipment and teaching aids ---------- $19,000.00

$170,000.00

SPRING LAKE PARK SCHOOL:

3 general classrooms, 2 special classrooms,
multi-purpose room seating 400 ---------- $106,000.00

Equipment and teaching aids ---------- $13,000.00

$119,000.00

NEW ELEMENTARY: (School site near T.V. Tower and by School District)

8 classrooms, multi-purpose room seating 200,
offices and administration areas ---------- $135,000.00

Equipment and teaching aids ---------- $15,800.00

$150,800.00

NEWTOWN SCHOOL:*

8 classrooms, multi-purpose room seating 200,
offices and administration areas ---------- $135,000.00

Equipment and teaching aids ---------- $15,800.00

$150,800.00

SUNSET SCHOOL:*

One classroom, multi-purpose room seating 200 ---------- $39,000.00

Equipment and teaching aids ---------- $ 8,900.00

$47,900.00

GRIM SCHOOL:

18 classrooms, offices and administration areas,
toilet facilities ---------- $217,500.00

Equipment and teaching aids ---------- $18,000.00

$235,500.00

NEW JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL: (To replace Texas Avenue Junior High School)

16 classrooms, 2 science rooms, library, audio-visual room, auditorium seating 600, cafeteria, gymnasium, manual training, home econ. ---------- $510,000.00

Equipment and teaching aids ---------- $59,000.00

$569,000.00

SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL:

Renovating Science Department ---------- $8,500.00

Equipment ----------$11,500.00

Partitioning to provide classrooms for 1958-59 ----------$850.00

Floor covering and painting in main building ---------- $15,500.00

$36,350.00

DUNBAR HIGH SCHOOL:*

Band, music and choral rehearsal rooms, one art room ---------- $34,450.00

Equipment and teaching aids ---------- $2,350.00

$36,800.00

To provide for normal growth in the school district for the next ten years. (Normal growth being approximately 2.9% per year for white schools and 2.3% for colored schools).

a. Six classrooms for Senior High School
b. Ten classroom [sic] for white elementary schools
c. Four classrooms for Junior High School
d. Five classrooms for colored elementary schools*
e. Five classrooms for Dunbar High School* ---------- $320,000.00

TOTAL: $2,030,150.00

*asterisk indicates black school

Appendix VI

Excerpt from TASD School Board Minutes, August 30, 1963 – first mention of integration:

STATEMENT OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF
TEXARKANA, ARKANSAS, SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 7

Since August 30, 1963, the Board has received one application on behalf of a Negro student to attend Jefferson Avenue Junior High School, five applications on behalf of a Negro student to attend North Heights Elementary School, and three applications on behalf of Negro students to attend Arkansas Senior High School.

After the United States Supreme Court decision in *Brown vs. Board of Education*, decided in 1954 there have been a number of court decisions on this subject. As we now understand these decisions, as they have developed, a school board has the legal obligation to offer an opportunity to each student, subject to a reasonable and necessary transition period, to a school assignment which is non-discriminatory with respect to race.

There had been no request on behalf of any Negro student to attend an integrated school until these applications were received. It is evident that these nine applications came too near to the beginning of the school term to permit the orderly implementation of an efficient plan for desegregation during the 1963-1964 school year. Therefore, the applications were denied.

However, during the 1963-1964 school year, the Board will present its plan designed to afford an opportunity for non-discriminatory school assignments. This plan will be publicly announced prior to the end of the 1963-1964 school year, and its first phase will be put into effect in September, 1964. This will afford the Board sufficient time to refine the plan and to exercise deliberate judgment respecting this important matter.

The Board feels that the careful planning and administrative preparation that can be done between now and the school year beginning in September, 1964, will contribute substantially to maintenance of the District's high educational standards. It is felt that this is in the best interest of all the students of the District, as contrasted to the disruptions that might result from hasty adjustments at this late date regarding assignments for the 1963-1964 school year.

The Board will continue to do those things which, in its judgment, afford the best possible educational opportunities to all students of the District. Retaining control of the schools in local hands is conducive to achieving this objective. The support of all the citizens of the Texarkana, Arkansas, School District is requested by the Board.

Appendix VII

Excerpts from TASD School Board Minutes, September 3 & 16, 1963 – regarding "for whites only" clause in Buhrman Field deed:

SPECIAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION
Texarkana, Arkansas
September 3, 1963

A special meeting of the Board was held in the Office of the Board, September 3, 1963, 7:00 P.M. Board members present were: Nunn Goodlett, John Fricks, Dr. V.E. Richardson, Dr. Karlton Kemp, Harrison Grace, A. P. Cox and Gerald Goff. Absent: Joe Lavender. Others present were; Edward D. Trice, superintendent; W.H. Watson, assistant superintendent; Willis B. Smith, John Stroud and Hayes McClerkin, school attorneys.

The meeting was opened with prayer by Gerald Goff.

On motion of Dr. Karlton Kemp, seconded by Gerald Goff, the Board asked the school attorneys to examine the Buhrman Field deed and to render an opinion relative to the "for white only clause" references.

On motion of Harrison Grace, seconded by Dr. W.H. Richardson, the Board acknowledged receipt of requests for enrollment of negro students in the white schools of Texarkana, Arkansas, and to inform the applicants that a hearing on said application would be held on September 23, 1963, same being its next regular meeting.

On motion of A.P. Cox, seconded by Dr. W.H. Richardson, the Board authorized the chairman of the Board to appoint a committee to work on a plan for the enrollment of students in the Texarkana Arkansas Schools on a non-racial basis and to report back to the next regular Board meeting (September 23, 1963).

The chairman of the Board appointed the following members: Dr. Karlton Kemp, chairman, Nunn Goodlett, John Fricks, Gerald Goff and Dr. W.H. Richardson.

There being no further business to come before the Board, the meeting was adjourned.

Signed A. Nunn Goodlett
PRESIDENT

September 16, 1963
Texarkana, Arkansas
Members of the Board
Texarkana, Arkansas School District
Texarkana, Arkansas

Gentlemen:

At your last meeting, we were asked to resolve the problem facing the School Board created by a restriction contained in a deed wherein Mrs. W.G. (Ida J.) Buhrman granted property to the School District to be used as an athletic playground. As you know, the particular restriction causing the Board concern is the one that requires the property be used as an athletic field and playground for "white children only." We were informed that a football team scheduled to play in the stadium this year might have Negro players on its roster, or that some of the bands might have Negro students.

Our first procedure was to determine the law regarding this type of racial restriction. In 1948, the Supreme Court decided the case of *Shelley vs. T.S. Kraemer*. Here, a testator left funds in trust, with the City of Philadelphia named trustee, for the erection of a college and limited admission to qualified persons of the white race. A suit was brought alleging that a racial restriction of this nature was prohibited by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The Supreme Court agreed with this theory and said that while racial restrictions in themselves were not invalid and that the parties to such restrictions may voluntarily abide by them, these restrictions are invalid and unforeseeable when either party seeks to enforce them in Court. The Fourteenth Amendment forbids a state taking any action which denies any person equal protection of the law, thus, should a State Court find such a restriction valid there would be "State Action" and a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

At first it would seem that this case solves our problem, since the restriction placed in the Buhrman deed would not be enforceable in Court. However, subsequent to the *Shelley* decision, a case arose in North Carolina involving a racial restriction in a deed. The restriction was worded in a manner so that the land involved would revert automatically upon its violation without the necessity of a lawsuit being brought to enforce it. The North Carolina Court held in this instance that since the reversion feature was automatic and no State Court action was needed for its enforcement, there was no "State Action" as had been prohibited by the United States Supreme Court in the *Shelley* case. This case was appealed to the United States Supreme Court, and the Court declined to review the holding of the North Carolina Court. In effect, this type of restriction was held valid. *Charlotte Park and Recreation Commission vs. Barringer*, 242 N.C. 311, 88 S.E.2d 114, cert. denied, 350 U.S. 483.

After studying the deed from Mrs. Buhrman to the School District, we are convinced there is at lease a possibility that the restriction in question would be considered by the Court to be automatic, as was the deed in the North Carolina case. Except for this possibility, we could

advise the School Board to allow the restriction to be violated and seek relief from the ensuing lawsuit.

At this point we felt it wise to contact the owner of the reversionary interest, Buckner's Orphan Home in Dallas, Texas. After having explained the situation to the director of the home, Dr. Robert E. Burns, he was quite sympathetic with our position and he asked one of us to come to Dallas and discuss the matter with their attorney, Judge Frank Ryburn, Sr. This we did, and both Judge Ryburn and Mr. Burns assured us that Buckner's Orphan Home, did not desire to own or have anything to do with our athletic field. Judge Ryburn suggested that we go ahead and participate in all of our athletic events this year and disregard the racial restriction, and that we notify them when there has been Negro participation of a type we feel would violate the restriction. They expressed their willingness to then deed whatever interest reverted to them to the School District by quitclaim deed. This conveyance would have to be authorized by their Board of Directors which meets the latter part of October. I am assured that the Board of Directors of the association will go along with this plan. From our standpoint, this is not a perfect solution, in that to some degree we are relying upon their good faith. However, I talked with these people in person, and I am convinced of their sincerity.

We recommend that the School Board go along with this plan. It is our opinion that even if the Buckner Home had a change in faith and attempted to take possession of the athletic field, we would probably prevail in Court. There are some risks involved, but we believe them to be minimal and we, therefore, recommend that all athletic events be continued as scheduled. After there has been Negro participation, we should then request Buckner's Baptist Benevolence to execute the quitclaim deed, as per their verbal assurance.

Yours very truly,
SMITH, SANDERSON, STROUD & MCCLERKIN
Signed Billie B. Smith Jr.

Appendix VIII

Excerpts from TISD School Board Minutes, May 19, 1964, January 27, 1965, & April 19, 1966 – Freedom of Choice desegregation plans:

TISD Board Minutes, May 19, 1964 –

Integration Plans

Thereupon, there came to be considered again the problem of integration of schools within the Texarkana Independent School District.

It was pointed out that the problem has been studied by the board of trustees since 1954 and that plans have been developed from time to time, and from year to year, to educate the public to the problem, and to develop a program whereby students of both races could be educated together without friction and without slowing or hindering the progress of either race.

It was further discussed that with the cooperation which has been developed between parent-teacher organizations of the white and Negro schools, the schools could now be integrated on a graduate basis.

Further, the school administration has through the past ten years developed an understanding between the principals and teachers in the white schools with the principals and teachers in the Negro schools.

The board further discussed their personal feelings concerning the question of integration, but unanimously agreed that personal considerations were not to be considered, but only the welfare of the school district, its students and inhabitants in light of the obligation of the trustees in compliance with the law.

RESOLUTION:

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Board of Trustees of the Texarkana Independent School District now determine and announce the following plan to comply with the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Brown vs. Board of Education*, said plan to take effect initially as of September 1, 1964:

We recognize that the desegregation of the schools in the Texarkana Independent School District will be a revolution in the social mores and tradition of the community, and the habits of life of generations past will be uprooted, but it is our purpose to bring this process into being with the least possible friction, misunderstanding, and displacement of education opportunities; because not only are the children and the home [sic] represented in the schools involved, but the total community life and population are likewise involved.

To expedite the program and plan, a period of adjustment and definite preparation will be required.

The best plan the District has been able to evolve, after long study and profound reflection, is as follows:

1. Compulsory segregation based upon race is abolished in Grade One of the schools of the Texarkana Independent School District for the scholastic year beginning in September, 1964, and each succeeding September, beginning in September, 1965, the next succeeding grade will be desegregated until all twelve grades in the complete schools have been desegregated.
2. A plan of school zoning of districting based upon location of school buildings and the latest scholastic census without reference to race will be established for the administration of the first grade and for other grades as hereafter desegregated.
3. Every student entering the first grade in September, 1964, will be permitted to attend the school designated for the zone in which he or she resides, subject to regulations that may be necessary in particular instances.
4. Applications for transfer of first grade students from the school of their zone to another school will be given careful consideration and will be granted when made in writing by parents or guardians or those acting in the position of parents when good cause therefor is shown and when transfer is practicable, consistent with sound school administration.
5. Orientation of teachers with respect to dealing with and teaching the children of different races and of different sociological backgrounds all in the same classroom requires meticulous preparation. Numerous clinics, workshops, seminars, and joint study groups have been pursued during the year 1963-1964, and will be continued in succeeding years to bring about a state of amity and congeniality for these new arrangements.
6. Likewise, orientation of teachers with respect to the educational processes of teaching children who have different degrees of ability levels and achievements has been one of our endeavors for the past several years. This will continue for succeeding years. Tolerance and understanding are involved in this undertaking.
7. Time and preparation will be required for conditioning teachers to the communication involvements with mixed groups. Both white and Negro teachers will require a period of anticipation after the plan for desegregation is approved and announced. During this period a way of thinking will be developed so as to minimize the risks and embarrassments for both races. The conditioning effort anticipated will amount to development in ways of thinking and doing which will cause teachers and pupils to be agreeable to one another while working together, both through desire and in their many automatic responses.
8. Parents and parent organizations will require orientation where mixed groups will come about as a result of desegregation.
9. As one of the means for bringing about these ends outlined, we shall start a program of orientation in September, 1964, among the children and parents concerned with desegregated class in the Fall of 1964. It is highly important that these first desegregated classes be successful organizations. Only in such organizations can profitable teaching be carried on. The parents and the children of both races will require this orientation. Each year these

orientation programs will continue for the next succeeding group of pupils to be desegregated the following year.

10. For several years, teacher meetings and convocations within the District have been on a de-segregated basis. Beginning in September, 1964, bi-racial convocations, bi-racial teachers meetings, bi-racial seminars, and bi-racial study groups will be continued to prepare white and Negro teachers to accept each other on a professional level, to the end that the working for common goals in the education of the children of Texarkana will be harmoniously projected.

To accomplish the purposes and program outlined above is a monumental task, and the last possible time which will permit of effective accomplishments will require that desegregation not be attempted before September 1, 1964. To implement effectively the successful accomplishment of the plan above, the administrative officers of the School District have prepared a calendar of preparatory steps as set out in Exhibit "A,' attached hereto and made a part hereof.

TISD Board Minutes, January 27, 1965:

Desegregation Amendment:

Upon a motion by Mr. Heath seconded by Mr. Ward the board voted that the desegregation plans as adopted by the board of trustees, in regular meeting on May 19, 1964, be amended to read as follows:

(a) Provision 3
Every student entering the first grade in September, 1964, will be permitted to attend the school designated for the zone in which he or she resides, subject to regulations that may be necessary in particular instances which regulations operate without regard to the race, color, or national origin of any individual.

(b) Provision 4
Applications for transfers of first grade students from the school of their zone to another school will be given careful consideration and will be granted when made in writing by parents or guardians or those acting in the position of parents when good cause therefor is shown and when transfer is practicable, consistent with sound school administration, but without regard to race, color, or national origin of any individual.

TISD Board Minutes, April 19, 1966:

Desegregation Plans

Upon a motion by Mr. Kinder seconded by Dr. Wyrick the board voted to adopt a plan of desegregation as presented by the superintendent as follows: Ayes – 6; Abstained – 1 (Mr. Heath).

Staff Assignments –
(a) System-Wide Personnel
1. Administrative
   Superintendent, Assistant Superintendent, Business Manager, Director of Federal Programs, Director of Special Services, Director of Athletics, Director of Cafeterias, and Director of Maintenance
2. Supervisory Personnel
   Coordinator of Special Education, Coordinator of Mathematics, Coordinator of Speech and Drama, Coordinator of Instrumental Music, Coordinator of Science, Coordinator of Choral Music
3. Teaching Personnel
   School nurses, librarians, social workers, counselors, speech therapist [sic], visiting teachers, homebound teachers, special education teachers, remedial reading teachers, special art, music, and physical education teachers.

TEXARKANA INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT

BE IT RESOLVED that the Board of Trustees of the Texarkana Independent School District that all previous plans of desegregation are hereby abolished and the plan herein announced supercedes [sic] and replaces all previous plans and shall become effective immediately upon adoption.

We recognize that the desegregation of the schools in the Texarkana Independent School District will be a revolution in the social mores and traditions of the community, and that habits of life of generations past will be uprooted, but it is our purpose to bring this process into being with the least possible friction, misunderstanding, and displacement of educational opportunities, because not only are the children and the homes represented in the schools involved but the total community life and population are likewise involved.

Description of District

The Texarkana Independent School district lies partly within and partly without the City of Texarkana, Texas, in the Northeast corner of Bowie County, Texas. The Texarkana

Independent School District consists of 16 individual campuses with 12 elementary schools – grades 1-6; two junior high schools – grades 7-9; one junior-senior high – grades 7-12; and one high school – grades 10-12.

As of September 1, 1964 the School District initiated a voluntary plan of desegregation by which Grade 1 of all schools were [sic] desegregated effective September 1, 1964. Beginning September 1, 1965, the school district initiated a voluntary plan of desegregation by which grades 1-6 of all schools were desegregated. In accordance with established guidelines, grades 1-9 will be desegregated on a voluntary plan basis effective September 1, 1966, with all grades desegregated by September 1, 1967.

PLAN OF DESEGREGATION

1. Compulsory segregation based upon race is abolished in Grades 1 through 9 of these schools of the Texarkana Independent School District as of the scholastic year beginning September 1, 1966, and Grades 10 through 12 as of the scholastic year beginning September 1, 1967.
2. Every pupil in the District in a grade in which segregation based on race has been abolished shall have a right to attend any school of his choice in the District, without regard to race or color. If overcrowding of any school results from the choices made, preference shall be given to those pupils who reside nearest the school without regard to race or color, and any pupil whose choice is denied because of the overcrowding of the school of his choice shall have the right to attend any other school of his choice in the District.
3. Pre-registration of pupils planning to enroll in Grades 1-12 for the following scholastic year will take place for a period of thirty (30) days during the month of April each year. Parents or guardians may register pupils during this period at the school of their choice, without regard to race or color. In the event of over-crowding of any school, preference will be given without regard to race to those choosing the school of his residence. Those whose choices are rejected because of overcrowding will be notified and permitted to choose any other school in the District.
4. Pupils enrolling in Grade 1 who are not pre-registered in April, and all other pupils enrolling [in] the schools of the District for the first time in grades in which racial segregation has been abolished may be registered in the school of their choice during the last two weeks in August of each year.
5. Pupils who are currently enrolled in the schools of the District and are eligible either to continue in the same school or to enroll for the first time in a school at the next higher level, in a grade in which racial segregation has been abolished or will be abolished as of the beginning of the next scholastic year, will be pre-registered during the month of April of each year. For this purpose all parents or guardians will be mailed by first class mail appropriate forms and written instructions for use in exercising their right to select the school of their choice for the forthcoming year. Such instructions shall set forth in detail the policy of the

District permitting a free choice of school for the next scholastic year without regard to race or color, as provided in this plan of desegregation.

6. The choice of schools as provided for herein is granted to the parent or guardian and the pupil. Teachers, principals, and other school personnel are not permitted to advise, recommend, or otherwise influence the decision. School personnel will neither favor nor penalize pupils because of the choice made.
7. In the event any pupil, or the parent or guardian of any pupil, fails to make a choice of schools as herein provided, and said pupil has heretofore attended a school within the District, said pupil shall be reassigned to the same school previously attended, if the grade the pupil is entering is taught therein.
   If the pupil has not heretofore been enrolled in a school in the School District, of if the grade in which the pupil is enrolling is not taught in the same school previously attended by the pupil within the School District, the said pupil shall be assigned, without regard to race, to the school nearest his residence in which the grade is taught, and within the attendance area within which he resides.
8. Transfers during the scholastic year may be authorized by the Superintendent only in the event of a move to a residence which is nearer the school to which a transfer is sought than to the school in which the pupil is enrolled.
9. All racially discriminatory practices in the bussing of pupils in grades in which racial segregation has been abolished are removed. There shall be no discrimination on the basis of race in the provision of transportation, and where bussing is provided, all pupils attending the same school and living on or near the same bus route will be transported on the same bus, without regard to race or color. Racial segregation in the seating of pupils on any bus shall not be permitted.
10. All racially discriminatory practices in the use of facilities or assignments thereto in any way connected with the District are hereby abolished and all facilities shall be equally used without regard to race or color.
11. In order that all parents and pupils in the District may be informed of and understand their right to select the school of their choice without to race or color, an announcement setting forth in detail the policies and procedures for pre-registration and enrollment in the school of their choice and for the provision of bus transportation on a racially non-discriminatory basis, as provided herein, shall be conspicuously published in the Texarkana Gazette and the Texarkana Daily News on or before the beginning of the 30 day enrollment period each spring.
12. Orientation of teachers with respect to dealing with and reaching the children of different races and of different sociological backgrounds, all in the same classroom requires meticulous preparation. Numerous clinics, workshops, seminars, and joint study groups have been conducted by teachers of both races for several years within the Texarkana Independent School District, and such will be continued in the succeeding years to bring about a state of amity and congeniality for these new assignments.

13. Likewise, orientation of teachers with respect to the educational processes of teaching children who have different degrees of ability levels and achievements in the same classrooms will be one of our endeavors. Tolerance and understanding are involved in this undertaking.
14. Parents and parent organizations will require orientation where mixed groups will come about as a result of desegregation.
15. As one of the means for bringing about these ends outlined, a program of orientation was initiated in September, 1965, among the children and parents concerned with desegregated classes in the Fall of 1965. It is highly important that desegregated classes be successful and the children of both races will require this orientation. These orientation programs will continue for the next succeeding group of pupils to be desegregated.
16. For the past few years teachers' meetings and convocations within the District have been on an integrated basis. In the future bi-racial convocations, bi-racial seminars, and bi-racial study groups will be organized to prepare white and Negro teachers to accept each other on a professional level, to the end that the working for common goals in the education of the children of the Texarkana Independent School will be harmoniously projected.
17. It is recognized that the existence of all-white faculties in some schools and all-Negro faculties in other schools is an evident vestige of the dual system of schools which will be abolished under this plan of desegregation, and that the preservation of such segregated faculties is constitutionally objectionable. Therefore, it shall be the policy of the District to remove race as a criterion for the assignment of teachers to schools of the District.
    Faculty assignment plans have been revised to permit employment and assignment of teachers on a racially non-discriminatory basis. Effective September 1, 1966, and thereafter, teachers will be employed strictly on qualifications without regard to race, or color.
    At a regular meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Texarkana Independent School District on the 19th day of April, 1966, a motion was made by Mr. Kinder and seconded by Dr. Wyrick that the above Plan of Desegregation be adopted. The motion carried with all members of the Board voting for the plan except for Mr. Heath, who abstained.

Appendix IX

Excerpt from TASD School Board Minutes, February 24, 1964 – Freedom of Choice plan:

REGULATIONS OF TEXARKANA SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 7
FOR THE ASSIGNMENT OF PUPILS, FOR THE RE-ASSIGNMENT
OF PUPILS, AND FOR THE PROCESSING AND HEARING
OF APPLICATIONS FOR RE-ASSIGNMENT OF PUPILS

I.
ASSIGNMENT ON ORIGINAL ADMISSION

Requests for original admission to the Texarkana School District No. 7 Public Schools shall be made on forms approved and provided by the Board of Directors (in these regulations called the "Board"). Such requests shall be fully completed as to all information requested therein. The Superintendent of Schools shall submit to the Board his recommendation as to the assignment of such child. Thereafter, the Board shall assign such child to a school in the District and shall notify the parents in writing of the assignment, which notice shall be delivered to the parents or mailed to them at the address set forth on the request of original admission.

II.
ASSIGNMENTS OF STUDENTS IN SCHOOL SYSTEM

(b) The following assignments and procedure [sic] shall be applicable for the school year 1964-1965:
   1. Each child enrolled in grades 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11, and each child in grade 12 who was not graduated, of the schools of this District at the close of the school year 1963-64 is hereby assigned to the school designated on such child's Progress Report Card, as reflected by the Progress Report Card delivered to the child at the close of the 1963-64 school year and as reflected by the official records of the School District. No additional notice shall be given of the assignments hereby made, and any interested child or parent may make inquiry at the office of the Superintendent in the Administration Office at 1420 Jefferson Street.
   2. The Superintendent of Schools shall submit to the Board his recommendation as to the assignment of each child at the First and Second grade levels, beginning with the 1964-65 school year. Thereafter, the Board shall assign each such child to one of the Elementary Schools in the District and shall notify the parents of each child in writing of the assignment, which notice shall be mailed to them at the address reflected by the official records of the District.

(c) The following procedure shall be applicable for each school year after the 1964-65 school year:

1. During the month of May of each year the Superintendent of Schools shall submit to the Board his recommendations as to the assignments for the next school year of each child enrolled in the schools of the District. Thereafter, but prior to the close of the school year then in progress, the Board shall assign each child in the schools of the District to a school for the next school year. Notice of this assignment shall be given by the noting of the same on each child's Progress Report Card which is delivered to the child at the close of the school year then in progress. If, for any reason, a child does not receive a Progress Report Card, written notice of the assignment shall be mailed to the parents of such child at the address reflected by the official records of the District.

III.
OBJECTIONS TO ASSIGNMENT AND REQUESTS FOR RE-ASSIGNMENT OR TRANSFER OF STUDENTS

(a) Parents who desire to object to the assignment of a child to a particular school, or who desire re-assignment or transfer to a designated school or to another school to be designated by the Board, must file written application with the Board within ten (10) days from the date of the giving of the notice of assignment. The date of the giving of the notice of assignment shall be the date of the publication of these regulations in the case of assignments made hereby, or the date of the delivery of the Progress Report Card to the children in the case of assignments noted thereon, or the date of the mailing of notice to parents in the case of all other assignments. If the tenth day falls on Saturday, Sunday, or a holiday, the period for filing application shall extend to the next day that is not Saturday, Sunday, or a holiday. Filing with the Board shall mean actual delivery to the Superintendent of Schools, or his authorized agent, at the Administration Office, 1420 Jefferson Street, during regular office hours.

(b) Such applications objecting to the assignment or requesting re-assignment or transfer must be made on forms approved and provided by the Board. The application forms are available during regular office hours at the office of the Superintendent of Schools and, when open, at the several offices of the principals of the schools. Each application, completely executed as to all information requested thereby, must be personally signed by the parents of the child and must be verified before an officer authorized to administer oaths.

(c) Upon receipt of any such application the Board shall set a date for a hearing before the Board beginning within thirty (30) days from the filing of the application. The parents and the child must appear in person at the hearing but, in addition to their personal appearance, may have such representation as the parents and child desire. The parents shall be given at least seven (7) days' [sic] notice of the time, date, and place of the hearing, which notice shall be mailed to them at their address reflected on the official records of the District in the Administration Office. The hearing of each application shall be confined to the particular application and shall be held separate and apart from a hearing on any other application.

(d) The Board shall hear and consider all witnesses appearing before the Board and having information pertinent and relevant to the application and shall consider all relevant

documentary evidence presented. In addition to hearing such evidence relevant to the individual child as may be presented on behalf of the applicant at the hearing, the Board will conduct such investigations as it may deem necessary and may require such child, upon reasonable notice, to submit to interviews by agents or representatives of the Board, professional or otherwise, and to take oral, written, and/or physical examinations.

(e) As promptly as possible after the hearing, the Bard shall take final action on each application and the findings and conclusions of the Board shall be made a part of the official records of the Board. The parents of the child shall be notified promptly by mail of the final action of the Board. If dissatisfied with the final action of the Board, the parents of the applicant may file in writing an exception to the final action of the Board as constituting a denial of a right of such child guaranteed under the Constitution of the United States or of a right under the laws of the State of Arkansas, and the Board shall act promptly on such exception, and in any event within fifteen (15) days after the filing thereof. The exception shall be filed on forms approved and provided by the Board, which forms may be obtained at the office of the Superintendent of Schools and, when open, at the several offices of the principals of the schools. Filing with the Board shall mean actual delivery to the Superintendent of Schools, or his authorized agent, at the Administrative Office, 1420 Jefferson Street, during regular office hours.

(f) Each child shall attend the school to which he or she is originally assigned until the Board re-assigns the child to another school.

IV.
POWER OF BOARD TO CHANGE ASSIGNMENT

Anything in these regulations to the contrary notwithstanding, the Board reserves the right to change the assignment of any child at any time when, in the opinion of the Board, the factors listed hereinafter in Article V, or any other relevant factor, require such change. Provided, however, that in each case of such change of assignment, and within the time prescribed in these regulations after due notice of the change of assignment, the parents of the child may make application setting forth objections to the assignment or requesting re-assignment or transfer, and the procedure prescribed hereinabove for the processing of such applications shall be followed.

V.
STANDARDS AND CRITERIA

In making original assignments or in considering applications setting forth objections to assignments or requesting re-assignment or transfer, the Board shall consider all relevant matters pertaining to the best interest of the children, the efficient operation of the schools, and the efficient carrying out of the best possible educational program, including, but not necessarily limited to:

1. Available room and teaching capacity in the various schools;
2. Availability of transportation facilities;

3. The effect of the admission of new pupils upon established or proposed academic programs;
4. The suitability of established curricula for particular pupils;
5. The adequacy of pupil's academic preparation for admission to a particular school and curriculum;
6. The scholastic aptitude and relative intelligence or mental energy or ability of the pupil;
7. The psychological qualifications of the pupil for the type of teaching and associations involved;
8. The effect of admission of the pupil upon the academic progress of other students in a particular school or facility thereof;
9. The effect of admission upon prevailing academic standards at a particular school;
10. The psychological effect upon the pupil of attendance at a particular school;
11. The possibility of breaches of the peace or ill will or economic retaliation within the community;
12. The home environment of the pupil;
13. The maintenance or severance of established and psychological relationships with other pupils and teachers;
14. The choice and interests of the pupil;
15. The morals, conduct, health, and personal standards of the pupil;
16. The request or consent of parents or guardians and the reasons assigned therefor [sic].

VI.
MISCELLANEOUS

(a) Wherever the word "parents" is used herein, it shall mean both parents of any child where both parents are living and residing in a household together with the child, or the parent with whom the child resides or who has custody of the child in the event of the parents living apart or of the parents having been divorced, or in the case of a guardian other than the natural parents of the child having been duly appointed, the word "parents" shall mean such guardian, or if there be more than one guardian, then all such persons who have been duly appointed guardians, or if the child is residing with a person standing in loco parentis, the word "parents" shall mean such person, or if more than one person, then all such parents standing in loco parentis.

(b) These regulations are promulgated pursuant to the authority expressly conferred by the laws of the State of Arkansas including without limitation Act 461 of the Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Arkansas for the year 1959. The full text of these regulations shall be published for one time in the Texarkana Daily News with the said publication to be as soon as possible after the adoption hereof, and said regulations shall be in full force and effect from and after the date of said publication.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS TEXARKANA
SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 7

John Fricks, Karlton Kemp, Nunn Goodlett, Harrison Grace, W.H. Richardson, Gerald Goff, Joe Owen, Bob Douglas

TEXARKANA SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 7
STATEMENT OF POLICY
ON
PUPIL ASSIGNMENT

The Texarkana School Board has adopted Regulations for the Assignment of Pupils and in accordance with these Regulations will assign each child to a school in the District.

Beginning with the 1964-65 term of school, the Texarkana School Board will give to all children who have registered for the First and Second Grades an opportunity to state a preference as to which elementary school they want to attend. On the basis of these statements of preference and other criteria embodied in the Board's Regulations for the assignment of Pupils as published, the Board will assign each child to an elementary school in the District. This will be accomplished by sending an Enumeration Form to the parents of each child pre-registered for the First Grade for 1964-65 and to the parents of each child enrolled in the First Grade during 1963-64 on which an expression of preference can be stated. These Forms are to be completed and returned to the office of the Superintendent of Schools at 1420 Jefferson Street by July 13, 1964. Parents of any child who will attend the First Grade in 1964-65 and who was not pre-registered in May 1964 can obtain these Forms from the Superintendent's Office and likewise submit their preference by July 13, 1964. Upon receipt of these requests, the Board will assign each child to a school in the District in accordance with its Regulations for the Assignment of Pupils. Assignments on original admission to the Texarkana Public Schools for all pupils who move into this District after the date of the publication of this policy will be made by the Board as prescribed in the regulations for the Assignment of Pupils.

Each child enrolled in Grades 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, and 11, and each child in grades 6, 9, and 12 who was not promoted or graduated, of the schools in this District at the close of the school year 1963-64 is hereby assigned to the school last attended.

Each child enrolled in Grades 6 and 9 at the close of the school year 1963-64 who was promoted to the next higher grade is hereby assigned to the junior high school or the senior high school at which he participated in school sponsored orientation activities. If the promotion from the Ninth Grade to the Tenth Grade does not involve a change from junior high school to senior high school, each child promoted from Grade 9 to Grade 10 is hereby assigned to the senior high school which he attended in the Ninth Grade. No additional notice shall be given of the assignments hereby made, and any interested child or parent may make inquiry at the office of the Superintendent in the Administration Office at 1420 Jefferson Street.

The parents of any child to be enrolled in the First or the Second Grade in 1964-65 who desire to object to the assignment of a child to a particular school or who desire reassignment to a designated school or to another school to be designated by the Board may do so by filing written application with the Board within ten (10) days from the date of the giving of the notice of assignment. Such requests for reassignment must be made on forms provided by the Board for that purpose. The Board will consider such requests on the basis of its Regulations for the Re-assignment of Pupils.

Prior to the close of the 1964-65 school year, all pupils who have not had a prior opportunity to express a preference of school in the First through the Fourth Grades will be given an opportunity to state a preference as to which school in the District they wish to attend, and the Board will assign each pupil to a school in a manner consistent with its assignment procedures. There are, of course, many factors that will influence the future progress of this program, and therefore, the Board is not now adopting an inflexible schedule in this regard. However, subject to these considerations, it is presently planned that this process will be extended two consecutive grades each year until the pupils of each of the twelve grades in the Texarkana School System will have had the opportunity of stating a preference as to the school he/she wishes to attend.

TEXARKANA SCHOOL BOARD

John Fricks
Karlton Kemp
Nunn Goodlett
Harrison Grace
W.H. Richardson
Gerald Goff
Joe Owens
Bob Douglas

Appendix X

Excerpt from TISD School Board Minutes, May 16, 1968 – Letter to HEW detailing new desegregation plan and addendum, end of Freedom of Choice:

Department of Health, Education and Welfare
c/o Education Branch Chief
Office of Civil Rights Region VII
1114 Commerce Street
Dallas, Texas 75212

In Re: Proposed Desegregation Plan
Texarkana Independent School
District, Texarkana, Texas

Dear Sir:

The Texarkana Independent School District has elementary, junior high and senior high schools with a racial structure as follows:[194]

Name of School	Grades Taught	White Students	Negro Students	White Teachers	Negro Teachers	% Black Students
Texarkana, Texas High School	10, 11, & 12	1127	71	62	1.5	5.93%
Dunbar High School & Dunbar Junior	**7, 8, 9, 10, 11 & 12**	**0**	**744**	**2**	**27**	**100%**
Westlawn Junior	7, 8, 9	626	5	25	1	0.79%
F. Ben Pierce Jr.	7, 8, 9	755	59	25	3.5	7.25%
Elementary Schools:						
Beverly	1 through 6	271	6	11	1.5	2.17%
Goree	**1 through 6**	**0**	**219**	**1**	**8**	**100%**
Grim	1 through 6	278	20	12	1.2	6.71%
Highland Park	1 through 6	243	8	12	1	3.19%
Jamison	**1 through 6**	**0**	**177**	**1**	**6**	**100%**
Jones	**1 through 6**	**0**	**323**	**1**	**12**	**100%**
Kennedy	1 through 6	298	13	10	2	4.18%
Nash	1 through 6	237	68	9	2	22.30%
Oaklawn	1 through 6	349	8	11	1.5	2.24%
Spring Lake Park	1 through 6	355	0	12	1	0%
Sunset	**1 through 6**	**0**	**162**	**1**	**6**	**100%**
Wake Village	1 through 6	374	0	12	1	0%

[194] Former black schools are bolded. Percentages added for context.

In the past year, the placement of students within the school district has been according to the "freedom of choice" program approved by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare of the United States Government.

In order to completely eliminate the dual school system as required by the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Texarkana, Texas, Independent School District proposes the following:

STEP 1. As of September 1, 1968, the School District proposes to close the Dunbar Senior High School, that being grades 10, 11, and 12. All students within the School District, without regard to their race or color, will attend Senior High School at the Texarkana, Texas, Senior High School.

All other students, and the students' parents will be allowed a freedom of choice as to the school they desire to attend.

Those teachers in the Dunbar Senior High School will be transferred to the Texarkana, Texas, Senior High School. In the event of any excess in the number of teachers, the teachers will be selected according to qualifications, without regard to their race or color.

In the scholastic year 1968-1969, as to all elementary schools other than Sunset Schools, Wake Village and Spring Lake Park Elementary Schools, no fewer than one (1) white teacher will be assigned to teach in schools which were previously classified as colored schools, and no fewer than one (1) colored teacher will be assigned to teach in schools which were previously classified as white schools. There will be at least two (2) white teachers teaching full time in Sunset School, and at least two (2) Negro teachers teaching full time at both Wake Village Elementary and Spring Lake Park Elementary Schools.

For the scholastic year 1968-69 three (3) junior high schools will be maintained, namely: F. Ben Pierce, Westlawn and Dunbar. Likewise, each of the elementary schools listed above will be operated during the scholastic year 1968-69.

The School Board of the Texarkana Independent School District is of the opinion that the freedom of choice method offers real promise of aiding a desegregation program to effectuate conversion of state-imposed dual system to a unitary, non-racial system of schools. In the event that in the scholastic year 1968-1969 the freedom of choice plan does not operate to abolish the dual system in the elementary schools and the junior high schools, the School Board in the spring of 1969 [will] adopt some system such as "zoning," "pairing," and a "feeder system" which will as of September 1, 1969, completely eliminate the dual system of schools within the Texarkana Independent School.

Motion was made by Mr. Maly and seconded by Mr. Crownover that the proposed plan to eliminate the dual system in the Texarkana Independent School District be adopted.

The above and foregoing is a true and correct copy of a motion adopted by the Board of Trustees of the Texarkana Independent School District on the 16th day of May, 1968.

Signed O.G. Kinder
President, Board of Trustees
Signed A.T. Hay
Secretary, Board of Trustees

TEXARKANA INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT
Office of the Superintendent

ADDENDUM

An addendum is being added to the minutes of the meeting of May 16, 1968, at the request of Dr. James H. Thomas.

SUBJECT – Statement made at School Board Meeting, Thursday, May 16, 1968.

"I have just recently been elected to the school board. I have met with no representative of the HEW Department. I have seen nothing specific in writing and I am not convinced that HEW is operating within the law. They may be misinterpreting the law or making their own law. I don't want to support any progress that will be a continual of dictatorial edicts and guidelines. In effect they say they will be back in two years.

The facilities of the colored schools are inadequate in every respect. There are many courses and facilities such as shop missing at Dunbar. They do not have an equal opportunity under such circumstances.

I have some 600+ letters in my file and have received many phone calls asking me to support Freedom of Choice. I favor Freedom of Choice and would like to see how the Supreme Court rules on present cases appealed from the 5th Circuit Court. If we had adequate funds our problems would be easier to resolve. We are given a date of June 3, 1968, to present a plan and I think we should reserve every day of it for our decision. If we need until September 1st, we should take that time."

This is my statement and I wish this to be made a part of the minutes of this meeting.

James H. Thomas, M.D.

Appendix XI

Excerpts from TISD School Board Minutes, June 28, 1968, June 19, 1969 & July 15, 1969 – final desegregation plan proposal, first mention of school pairing system, and details of school pairing system:

TISD School Board Minutes June 25, 1968 –

Upon a motion by Mr. Crownover seconded by Mr. Ward the board voted to adopt the desegregation plan as outlined below: Ayes – 6; Nays – 0.

June 25, 1968

Department of Health, Education and Welfare
c/o Education Branch Chief
Office of Civil Rights Region VIII
1114 Commerce Street
Dallas, Texas 75212

In Re: Proposed Desegregation Plan
Texarkana Independent School
District, Texarkana, Texas

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the desegregation plan adopted by the Board of Trustees of the Texarkana Independent School District on the 16th day of May, 1968, a copy of which was sent to your office, and to your reply contained in your letter to Superintendent Bill K. Ford dated the 14th day of June, 1968.

In accordance with the directives set out therein, and in an effort to comply with the applicable provisions of law and to eliminate completely the dual school system, the Texarkana Independent School District proposes the following:

STEP 1: As of September 1, 1968, the School District proposes to close the Dunbar Senior High School, that being grades 10, 11, and 12. All students within the School district, without regard to their race or color, will attend Senior High School at the Texarkana, Texas, Senior High School.

All other students, and the students' parents will be allowed a freedom of choice as to the school they desire to attend.

Those teachers in the Dunbar Senior High School will be transferred to the Texarkana, Texas, Senior High School. In the event of any excess in the number of teachers, the teachers will be selected according to qualifications, without regard to their race or color.

In the scholastic year 1968-1969, as to all elementary schools other than Sunset Schools, Wake Village and Spring Lake Park Elementary Schools, no fewer than one (1) white teacher will be assigned to teach in schools which were previously classified as colored schools, and no fewer than one (1) colored teacher will be assigned to teach in schools which were previously classified as white schools. There will be at least two (2) white teachers teaching full time in Sunset School, and at least two (2) Negro teachers teaching full time at both Wake Village Elementary and Spring Lake Park Elementary Schools.

For the scholastic year 1968-69 three (3) junior high schools will be maintained, namely: F. Ben Pierce, Westlawn and Dunbar. Likewise, each of the elementary school listed above will be operated during the scholastic year 1968-69.

STEP 2: In the event the freedom of choice method does not abolish the dual school system as of September 1, 1969, the Texarkana Independent School District proposes the following alternative proposals.

PROPOSAL NO. A. For the grade schools, in the event sufficient funds are obtained, the Board proposes to close Jamison and Jones Elementary Schools, and to enlarge Highland Park or Spring Lake Park so as to take care of the colored students now attending Jamison, and to enlarge Grim so as to take care of those colored students now attending Jones Elementary School.

Under this proposal, the dual school system now existing at Kennedy and Goree Schools would have to be abolished either by pairing these two schools or by establishing attendance zones or to enlarge Kennedy.

PROPOSAL NO. B. As to the grade schools within the Texarkana Independent School District, it is proposed that attendance zones be drawn around each elementary school in such a manner that there will be white students attending Jamison, Goree and Jones Elementary Schools, and there will be Negro students attending Beverly, Grim, Highland Park, Kennedy, Nash and Oaklawn.

These lines would be drawn in such a manner as to include all students living in the closest proximity to the school involved, and no attempt would be made so as to deliberately include or exclude any area predominantly white or predominantly colored.

For the reason set out in Proposal No. C of this letter, it is impossible to draw attendance lines around Sunset School so as to include any white students, and it is impossible to draw attendance lines around Wake Village and Spring Lake Park Schools so as to include any Negro students.

As to the junior high schools for the scholastic year beginning September 1, 1969, an alternative proposal is submitted to close Dunbar Junior High School as a junior high school, and to operate only two junior high schools, to-wit: Westlawn and F. Ben Pierce. Both colored and white students would be zoned to attend the junior high school near the area in which they reside. Dunbar Junior High School would be converted into a school for Exceptional Children.

PROPOSAL NO. C. As of the scholastic year beginning September 1, 1969, it is proposed to "pair" the following elementary schools:

(a) Highland Park Elementary School will be paired with Jamison Elementary School. Grades 1 through 3, or 1 through 4, depending on the number of students, will be taught at Highland Park Elementary School. Grades 4 through 6, or 5 and 6, depending on the number of students, will be taught at Jamison School.
(b) Grim Elementary School will be paired with Jones Elementary School. Grades 1 through 3, or 1 through 4, depending on the number of students, will be taught at Grim Elementary School. Grades 4 through 6, or 5 and 6, depending on the number of students, will be taught at Jones Elementary School.
(c) Goree Elementary School will be paired with Kennedy Elementary School. Grades 1 through 3, or 1 through 4, depending on the number of students, will be taught at Kennedy Elementary School. Grades 4 through 6, or 5 and 6, depending on the number of students, will be taught at Goree Elementary School.
(d) Teacher assignments will be moved with the grade taught

There are located within the Texarkana Independent School District three elementary schools in which the students are either all Negro or all white. This is so by reason of the face that these three schools are located on the extreme edges of the School District, and are located in areas in which there are either no colored residents or white residents. There are no white students in the Sunset Elementary School. Likewise, there are no Negro students in either the Wake Village Elementary School area or the Spring Lake Park Elementary School area. No white students have applied for admission to Sunset School, and no Negro students have applied for admission to Wake Village School or Spring Lake Park School.

It would be a great inconvenience to the parents, and extremely dangerous and time consuming to the students to compel them to attend an elementary school located a comparatively great distance from their homes.

Accordingly, elementary school pupils living within the area of these schools will continue to attend the school located within the area in which they reside. If Negro students apply for admission to Wake Village or Spring Lake Park, or both, they will be admitted. Likewise, it is possible that some white family will move into the area of Sunset School, and apply for admission of its elementary grade students to that school. Such students will be admitted.

At any rate there will be at least two white teachers teaching full time in Sunset School, and at least two Negro teachers teaching full time at both Wake Village and Spring Lake Park Elementary Schools.

Under this proposal three junior high schools will be maintained for the scholastic year beginning September 1, 1969. The present F. Ben Pierce, Westlawn and Dunbar Junior High Schools will be maintained and operated as junior high schools. Graduates of Jones and Sunset Schools will attend the Dunbar Junior High School. Graduates of Nash, Wake Village, Beverly, and Oaklawn Elementary Schools will attend Westlawn Junior High School. Graduates of Jamison, Goree and Spring Lake Park will attend the F. Ben Pierce Junior High School.

It is possible that some reshifting [sic] of the attendance lines will have to be made if the number of prospective students in any junior high school exceeds the capacity of that school. For example, possibly all persons residing South of Highway 82 and East of Robinson Road will have to attend Dunbar Junior High School. This would include some students, both colored and white, who are now attending either Oaklawn or Beverly Elementary Schools.

When such attendance lines are drawn, they will be brawn [sic] with reference to such existing facilities as highways and railroads, and without reference to whether the area affected is either predominantly or exclusively Negro or white. Under any of the proposals above, students will be assigned to the elementary schools without regard to their race.

The decision of the Board of Trustees as to which of the above proposals will be adopted will be made in sufficient time to eliminate the dual school system, other than as to Sunset, Spring Lake Park and Wake Village Schools, as of September 1, 1969.

Motion was made by Mr. Crownover, seconded by Mr. Ward that the above plan to eliminate the dual school system of the Texarkana Independent School District be adopted.

The above and foregoing is a true and correct copy of the motion adopted by the Board of Trustees of the Texarkana Independent School District on the 28th day of June, 1968.

Signed O. G. Kinder – President Signed J.C. Crownover - Secretary

TISD School Board Minutes, June 19, 1969:

Name Change for Schools

Upon a motion by Mr. Ward seconded by Mr. Kinder the board voted that all schools of the Texarkana Independent School district that are named after individuals be renamed in accordance with the board policy adopted in November, 1968. The policy states that schools shall be named on the basis of geographic location, established neighborhood or community names. In keeping with this policy I recommend these schools be named as follows:

1. Jamison Elementary – Spruce Street Elementary
2. Jones Elementary – Fifteenth Street Elementary
3. Goree Elementary – Lincoln Street Elementary
4. Pierce Junior High – Pine Street Junior High
5. Dunbar Junior High – Southwest School (with a suffix of whatever purpose we use the school).

Ayes – 6; Nays – 0; Abstain – 1 (Mr. Fowler).

Adoption of Plan to Eliminate the Dual School System

President Rochelle explained briefly why at this time the plan to the Health Education, and Welfare Department must be completed and sent in to Washington. He asked for a show of hands by the board members to see which way they preferred to go (1) pairing (2) portable classrooms. All board members raised their hands to (1). Mr. Moses and Mr. Fowler concurred that they were still for freedom-of-choice but would go along with the pairing since it was the lesser of two evils.

President Rochelle asked Dr. Thomas, Vice President, to assume the chair in order that he might make a motion.

Upon a motion by Dr. Rochelle seconded by Mr. Ward the board voted that all elementary schools in the Texarkana Independent School District be paired in the following manner: (1) Highland Park School and Spruce Street School be paired with grades 1 and 2 in each school to remain as neighborhood schools with all students in grades 3 and 4 to attend Highland Park School and all students in grades 5 and 6 to attend Spruce Street Elementary School. (2) Kennedy School, Lincoln Street School, and Spring Lake Park School be paired with grades 1, 2, and 3 in each school to remain as neighborhood schools with all students in grade 4 to attend Kennedy School, all students in grade 5 to attend Lincoln Street School, and all students in grade 6 to attend Spring Lake Park School. (3) Beverly School, Oaklawn School, and Fifteenth Street School be paired with grades 1, 2, and 3 to remain as neighborhood schools with all students in grades 4 to attend Beverly School, all students in grade 5 to attend Oaklawn School, and all students in grade 6 to attend Fifteenth Street School. (4) Grim School and Sunset

School be combined effective September of 1970 with those students now attending Sunset School being assigned to Grim School. (5) Wake Village School and Nash School students be assigned as follows: All negro students south of the Texas Pacific Railroad presently attending Nash shall attend Wake Village School. (6) Westlawn Junior High School, Southwest School, and Pine Street Junior High School students be assigned as follows: students now attending Southwest School in the Fifteenth Street School area to attend Westlawn Junior High School and those students from Sunset School area, Lincoln Street School area, and Spruce Street School area to attend Pine Street Junior High. (7) Faculty assignments shall be made by transferring teachers with students that are assigned to different campuses for 1969-70. Ayes – 5; Nays – 0; Abstain – 2 (Mr. Moses and Mr. Fowler).

TISD School Board Minutes, July 15, 1969:

Desegregation

President Rochelle asked Mr. Ward to assume the chair.

Dr. Rochelle made several statements concerning the desegregation plan. The plan previously submitted to the Health, Education and Welfare Department on June 2, 1969, and the revised plan adopted by the Texarkana Board of Trustees on June 19, 1969, were found to be inadequate to meet the requirements of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 for the 1969-70 school year.

Upon a motion by Dr. Rochelle seconded by Mr. Kinder the board voted that the pupil assignment as laid out below be accepted as the method of student assignment for the school year 1969-70. Ayes – 4; Nays – 1.

Dr. Lloyd R. Henderson
Chief, Education Branch
Office for Civil Rights
Department of Health, Education & Welfare
Washington, D.C.

In Re: July 15,1969
Revised Desegregation Plan
Texarkana Independent School District
Texarkana, Texas

Dear Mr. Henderson:

Reference is made to the proposals made by the Texarkana Independent School District under date of June 2, 1969, as revised June 19, 1969, for the desegregation of the schools in the Texarkana Independent School District.

The Board of Trustees on July 15, 1969, further amended the actions taken by Resolutions of June 2, 1969, and June 19, 1969, so as to adopt the following plan for the elementary grades for the Texarkana Independent School District for the scholastic year beginning September 1, 1969.

PAIRING OF BEVERLY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, OAKLAWN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, AND FIFTEENTH STREET ELEMENTARY SCHOOL:

The School District proposes to pair Beverly, Oaklawn and Fifteenth Street Elementary Schools in the following manner:
Grades 1 and 2 will be taught at Beverly Elementary School.
Grades 3 and 4 will be taught at the Oaklawn Elementary School.

Grades 5 and 6 will be taught at the Fifteenth Elementary School.

PAIRING OF KENNEDY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, SPRING LAKE PARK ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AND LINCOLN STREET ELEMENTARY SCHOOL:

The School District proposes to pair the Kennedy, Spring Lake Park and Lincoln Street Elementary Schools in the following manner:

Grades 1 and 2 will be taught at Kennedy Elementary School.
Grades 3 and 4 will be taught at Lincoln Street Elementary School.
Grades 5 and 6 will be taught at Spring Lake Park Elementary School.

PAIRING OF HIGHLAND PARK ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AND SPRUCE STREET ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS:

The School District proposes to pair the Highland Park and Spruce Street Elementary Schools in the following manner:

Grades 1, 2, 3 and 4 will be taught at the Highland Park Elementary School.
Grades 5 and 6 will be taught at Spruce Street Elementary School.

GRIM ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AND SUNSET ELEMENTARY SCHOOL:

Grades 1 through 6 will be taught at both the Grim Elementary School and the Sunset Elementary School as they were in the year 1968-69. Effective September 1, 1970, Sunset Elementary School will be closed and the students previously attending that school will be transferred and assigned to Grim Elementary School.

WAKE VILLAGE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL:

Grades 1 through 6 will be taught at Wake Village Elementary School with the same students assigned thereto as previously. However, all Negro students previously attending the Nash Elementary School and who reside South of the Texas and Pacific Railroad will be transferred to the Wake Village Elementary School.

NASH ELEMENTARY SCHOOL:

Grades 1 through 6 will be taught at Nash Elementary School with the same students assigned thereto as previously, other than all Negro students who reside South of the Texas and Pacific Railroad will be assigned to the Wake Village Elementary School.

All other provisions of the plans of June 2, 1969, as amended on June 19, 1969, will remain in full force and effect.

Under the plan the approximate number of students by each race for each school, beginning September 1, 1969, will be as follows:[195]

	White	Negro	% Black Students
Texarkana, Texas, High School	1,315	430	25.64%
Pine Street Junior High School	718	324	31.10%
Westlawn Junior High School	647	143	18.10%
Elementary Schools:			
Beverly	240	120	33.34%
Oaklawn	179	112	38.49%
Fifteenth Street	**185**	**84**	**31.23%**
Kennedy	239	118	33.05%
Lincoln Street	**222**	**63**	**22.11%**
Spring Lake Park	231	47	16.91%
Highland Park	217	115	34.64%
Spruce Street	**108**	**45**	**29.41%**
Grim	242	35	12.64%
Sunset	**0**	**130**	**100%**
Wake Village	394	8	2.00%
Nash	279	36	11.43%

This proposal will completely eliminate segregation in all grades within the School District other than in the Sunset School. Effective September 1, 1970, with the elimination of Sunset School, there will be complete desegregation of all grades in all schools within the system.

Motion was made by Dr. Rochelle, seconded by Mr. Ward that the amendment to the proposed plan to eliminate the dual school system in the Texarkana Independent School District be adopted.

The above and foregoing is a true and correct copy of the motion adopted by the Board of Trustees of the Texarkana Independent School District by a vote of 4 for 2 against on the 15th day of July, 1969.

[195] Southwest School (formerly Dunbar) was not included in this table. Former black schools are bolded, and percentages were added for context.

Appendix XII

Excerpts from TASD School Board Minutes, June 26, 1968 – first and second iterations of new desegregation plan, end of Freedom of Choice:

TASD School Board Minutes, June 26, 1968 –

Mr. Jerald D. Ward, Chief
Dallas Education Branch
Office of Civil Rights
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
1114 Commerce Street
Dallas, Texas 75202

Dear Mr. Ward:

This acknowledges your letter of June 11, 1968, advising that Texarkana School District No. 7, Texarkana, Miller County, Arkansas, should submit its plan for compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to your office within two weeks after the receipt of your letter.

Our Board has modified our existing freedom of choice plan in the following respects:

1. Close W.T. Daniels Elementary School prior to the beginning of the 1968-1969 school year. The teachers at W.T. Daniels will be assimilated into the other schools in the system. Open six new classrooms at Vera Kilpatrick Elementary School and allow the students presently assigned to W.T. Daniels to make another choice of school.
2. Delete bus service from the Mandeville area to Carver Elementary School, and substitute bus route from the Mandeville area only to Vera Kilpatrick Elementary School for use by elementary students. This will substantially reduce the class size at Carver Elementary School which is needed. Realign other bus routes in the system to eliminate any segregated bus routes.
3. Establish a city-wide kindergarten at Carver Elementary School beginning with the 1968-1969 school year, the same to be the only kindergarten in the system. Establish beginning with the 1968-1969 school year a remedial center at Carver Elementary School.
4. Move grades ten, eleven and twelve from Washington High School to Arkansas High School at the beginning of the 1969-1970 school year. There is presently under construction a science annex to Arkansas High School which will be completed prior to the beginning of the 1969-1970 school year and which, in conjunction with a purchase of a home economics building, will provide space at Arkansas High School for all tenth, eleventh and twelfth grade students in the system.

5. Submit a bond issue proposal to the voters of the school district at the next school election, which will be in March of 1969, for the construction of a junior high school in the northern part of the city. The 33-acre site has already been acquired, architects obtained, and plans under study for the construction of said building which will, in conjunction with College Hill Junior High School, serve all seventh, eighth and ninth grade students in the system. Beginning with the 1970-1971 school year, close grades seven, eight and nine at Washington High School and assimilate the students into College Hill Junior High School and the new junior high school. In conjunction with this move, all students from Jefferson Avenue Junior High School would be moved to the new junior high school and College Hill Junior High School. Jefferson Avenue Junior High School would then become a part of Arkansas High School. Washington High School would be converted and renovated as a vocational and technical school for all students in the system.
6. Contract has just been let for the first stages of construction of a new athletic facility (stadium, track and football field) just east of Arkansas High School for use by all students in the system.
7. The number of fulltime classroom instructional staff assigned to schools in which their race is in the minority will be increased beginning with the 1968-1969 school year. The displacement, hiring, assignment and promotion of professional staff will be made without regard to race, color, or national origin.

The foregoing was adopted by our Board of Education at a special meeting held by the Board on June 26, 1968. We trust that these changes will keep our school in compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Sincerely,
Edward D. Trice
Superintendent of Schools

TASD School Board Minutes, July 29, 1968 –

Dr. Lloyd Henderson
Chief, Education Branch
Office of Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20202

Dear Dr. Henderson:

This acknowledges receipt of letter dated July 15, 1968, from Mr. Roberto Gonzales, Acting Regional Director of the Dallas Office of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, advising that our desegregation plan submitted under date of June 26, 1968, had been disapproved. I refer you to the telephone conversation you had with Mr. John F. Stroud, Jr., our school attorney, and myself on July 25, 1968, and our subsequent conversation with Mr. Don Vernon on July 26, 1968. Based on those conversations, the School Board of Texarkana School District No. 7, Texarkana, Miller County, Arkansas, adopted the following revisions to our prior plan at a special meeting of the Board held on July 29, 1968.

Our Board has modified our existing freedom of choice plan in the following respects:

1. As stated in our prior plan, W.T. Daniels Elementary School will be closed beginning with the 1968-1969 school year. All students previously attending Daniels School will be desegregated in accordance with acceptable policies and standards of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and disseminated into the other schools in the system on the basis of freedom of choice, excluding Carver Elementary School.
2. As stated in our prior plan, our Board proposes to submit a bond issue to the voters of the of the School District at the next school election in March of 1969 for the construction of a junior high school in the northern part of the city on a site previously acquired. If the bond issue should fail, we plan to close grades 7, 8, and 9 at Washington High School beginning with the 1969-1970 school year, and purchase temporary classrooms to be placed on the campus of Jefferson Avenue Junior High School. The students will be disseminated into College Hill Junior High School and Jefferson Avenue Junior High School on the basis of freedom of choice.
3. The teachers at Daniels Elementary School will be assigned to teaching positions in the remaining schools of our School District beginning with the 1968-1969 school year. Any dismissal of professional staff shall be without discrimination on the grounds of race, color or national origin.
4. Once our plan is fully implemented, the bussing of students shall be done without regard to race, color or national origin.

5. When Washington High School has been completely vacated, it is our present intent to use the existing structure as a vocational-technical high school for all students who desire this type program.
6. If freedom of choice fails to desegregate Carver Elementary School for the beginning of the 1969-1970 school year, we propose to phase out Carver Elementary School over a two-year period beginning with the 1969-1970 school year.

We trust that these changes in our previously adopted plan will keep our school in compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Sincerely,
Edward D. Trice
Superintendent of Schools

Appendix XIII

Excerpt from TASD School Board Minutes, June 22, 1970 – modifications to desegregation plan:

The President directed the Superintendent to read HEW's acceptance of the Board's latest plan for the desegregation of the Texarkana Arkansas Schools (copy to be inserted in minute book).*

Close the Washington Junior High School and assimilate the students and faculty of that school into the College Hill Junior High School and the Jefferson Avenue Junior High School. Attendance zones for the two schools have been established that should result in a total enrollment of 770 students at Jefferson Avenue and 805 students at College Hill.

Close the Carver Elementary School at the end of this school term. All sixth grade students at Carver and all sixth grade students in all of the other elementary schools in the district would be enrolled in the facility that now houses the Washington Junior High School. This would create a sixth grade school with an enrollment of 615 students. All sixth grade teachers in the system would be assigned to this school.

Students and teachers in grades one through five of Carver Elementary School would be assimilated into the five remaining elementary schools in the system. Attendance zones for each of the five elementary schools would be established for the Carver area. Students would be assigned from the zones to the elementary schools. Every effort would be made to keep that ratio of black to white students and teachers in each school the same as black is to white for the whole system. Students living outside the zoned area would be assigned under the existing freedom of choice procedures. This plan would not tend to segregate the schools.

If the plan outlined above is approved, the Carver facility would be reserved for special activities.

**No copy of the plan was found with the minutes.*

Appendix XIV

TISD School Board Minutes, February 26, 27 & 28, 1971 – detailed description of 1971 fight, expulsion hearings:

TEXARKANA INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT

Office of the Superintendent

Minutes – Official Special Meeting – Board of Trustees
Friday, Saturday, Sunday – February 26, 27, 28, 1971

The Board of Trustees of the Texarkana Independent School District met in official special session Friday night, February 26, beginning at 7:00; recessing at 1:00 AM February 27 until 1:00 PM February 27; recessing at 8:30 PM February 27 until 1:00 PM February 28; the board meeting adjournment 11:00 PM February 28.

Presiding Officer ---------- Mr. A. T. Hay, President

Board Members Present
Mr. A. T. Hay, President
Dr. James H. Thomas, Vice President
Mr. J. C. Crownover, Secretary
Mr. James H. Ward. Member
Dr. J. B. Rochelle, III, Member
Mr. Glenn Moses, Member

Board Members Absent
None

Staff Officials Present
Mr. J. A. Covert, Superintendent of Schools
Dr. Dwayne C. Bliss, Assistant Superintendent
Mr. John D. Raffaelli, School Attorney
Mr. Sidney F. Lane, Elementary Coordinator
Mr. Jon Moore, High School Assistant Principal
Mr. Dan Haskins, High School Assistant Principal
Miss Dorothy Speed, CTA
Miss Pearle Hughes, CTA

Others Present
Parents at proper time of interview
Mr. Jim Powell, Gazette
Mr. Dave Hall, Gazette
Mr. George Dobson, KTAL-TV

Meeting Called to Order

President Hay called the meeting to order with a rap of the gavel and proceeded with the transaction of business.

This meeting has to be opened to the public; however, parents and students are not allowed to view other parent-student hearings.

Letter from Texarkana Human Relations Council

A letter from the Texarkana Human Relation s Council was read by Dr. Thomas. After reading the letter Dr. Thomas made a motion that the board ask for a grand jury investigation of this matter so we can attempt to find true causes of this situation. Mr. Moses seconded the motion. Ayes – 6; Nays – 0.

February 21, 1971

TO: Texarkana Area School Board Members
From: Texarkana Human Relations Council

The following was sent in the form of a telegram to Attorney Jerris Leonard of the Justice Department, NEA officials and Senators Walter Mondale, Tower and Benson from the Texarkana Human Relations Council.

"The Texarkana Human Relations Council is a biracial group of citizens from both sides of the State Line (Texas and Arkansas) interested in promoting harmony and justice among all groups in the Texarkana Area."

"The Council is critically disturbed by the suspension from Texas High School on February 18, of 212 students, including 175 black students. These students are threatened with suspension for the remainder of the school year, with failing grades. The school board has adopted a procedure for reviewing these suspensions which fails to offer a fair hearing and which denies the students a due process. Action must be taken immediately to compel a reversal of the school board's action. All students must be immediately reinstated pending a fair and just hearing. We fell immediate reinstatement, coupled with correction of discrimination against black students by teachers, extra-curricular organizations, and administrators is urgent."

Basis of Expulsion – Mr. McGuire

Mr. McGuire, Principal of Texas Senior High, read the following:

To: Mr. Covert, Superintendent and Mr. Hay, President of the Board of Trustees
Subject: Incident of disruptive conduct on February 17, and other related information.

I. Time Table of Incidents
    a. 7:30 - Mr. Moore on duty in student center – quiet

b. 8:17 - A group of white students marched into the student center. Name calling started – tempers flared. Blacks and Whites grouped and faced one another. Both groups hostile. Mr. Haskins, Mr. Moore, duty teachers and I urged students to clear the cafeteria and go to class. Students were reluctant to move. I went out in front of the building and told Chief McGee that things were getting out of hand and we needed help.
c. 8:20 to 8:30 - Students began to leave the Student Center and assembled on the outer court area and amphi-theater. Name calling continued but no fights developed between the 500 or 600 students assembled. Chief McGee and other officers were now present. We were all urging students to go to class.
d. 8:23 - I cut the bell and made an announcement that the tardy bell would be held 3 minutes and again urged students to go to class. Some students began to leave and go to class and the area began to clear. In the next few minutes approximately two-thirds of the approximately 500 or 600 students went to class.
e. 8:28 - As the area was clearing some black students said they were going to the "hill" (the knoll by the pond). Some of the white students said they were going to the parking lot. The black students left through the Senior English corridor and the Whites were leaving through the north gate. At this point we had between 1300 and 1400 students in class.
f. 8:30 to 8:40 - Fighting and car damage was taking place on the parking lot. Police arrived on the parking lot and the Blacks retreated to the "hill" to join other Blacks assembled there. Whites remained on the parking lot. During this time Mr. Haskins was urging Blacks on the outside to return to class.
g. 8:45 - when the Blacks returned to the hill, some left and got sticks and clubs and intimidated students and teachers in shop building.
h. 8:45 to 8:50 - Out side corridor doors and gates were locked.
i. 9:00 - Teachers were instructed over the intercom to make a very careful attendance check and to list all students absent from class. Police had been and were in the process of dispersing the Whites.
j. 9:25 - I instructed Chief McGee to clear the Blacks from the "hill" – Blacks left.
k. 9:50 - Campus was clear, range [sic] the bell to pass to 2nd period.
l. 10:00 - Many parents came and continued to come to puck up their children.
m. 11:40 - Dismissed school for the day.

II. On Wednesday afternoon I met with out entire staff to determine who was involved. Briefly, we put a student's name on the list if he were absent from his first period class and if he were seen at school that morning – Was he absent from class but seen on the campus? 212 names were placed on the list.

III. Thursday morning these students were told they were temporarily suspended. Saturday we mailed letters to be sure all parents were aware of the suspensions and to give instructions for scheduling conferences.

IV. Mr. Moore, Mr. Haskins and I completed our conferences Thursday night and made our recommendations to Superintendent Covert.

V. To determine who was involved there had to be a basis for judgment. It is impossible to know the degree of involvement or reasons for taking part. Our basis for making an individual judgment was as follows:

    a. Did the student disregard his established schedule and not attend his first period class?
    b. Did the student then associate himself with either group black or white, for a significant period of time?
    c. Did the actions of the student support his reasons –
        i. If the student left the school to follow the instructions of parents – did he leave promptly or remain in the trouble area?
        ii. If the student left the school because he was afraid, did he leave the area promptly or remain for a period of time?
        iii. If he was concerned about his car, did he move it and then return to the trouble area?
    d. Any other information that we felt significant.

VI. This has been an extremely difficult job. I realize that our judgment are subject to error. We have tried to be consistent and fair in arriving at a decision that was bound to be unpopular. I do think that at some point in the operation of school that those 1300 or 1400 students who followed their schedules and went about the routine business of being a student must be our concern.

VII. I would like to recommend that all those seniors who are expelled for the remainder of the semester be permitted to complete their work by correspondence even though the need exceed the usual 2 units permitted.

Correspondence Courses

Upon a motion by Mr. Moses seconded by Dr. Rochelle the board voted to recommend that all senior expelled for the remainder of the semester be allowed to take correspondence to lead toward graduation. Ayes – 6; Nays – 0.

The board met with individual parents and students for 18 hours.

Other Parent Hearings

Dr. Rochelle discussed the number of students, both black and white, that came before the board, the number cleared, and the number not having made appointments. Upon a motion by Dr. Rochelle seconded by Dr. Thomas the board voted that Mr. McGuire, Mr. Moore and Mr. Haskins proceeded with the hearings as requests come up and the hearings be brought before the school board at the next regular meeting. Ayes – 6; Nays 0.

Committees

Upon a motion by Dr. Rochelle seconded by Dr. Thomas the board voted to amend the motion at the February 18 meeting concerning committees of black and white students to meet on problems in this manner: a committee headed by Mr. Haskins composed of 5 black students elected by the black students chosen by Mr. Haskins – a committee headed by Mr. Moore composed of 5 white students elected by the white students plus 3 white students chosen by Mr. Moore – these committees come up with suggestions of present racial problems and bring forward through channels – the administration, Miss Tullos and Mr. Ingram, and the finding s be brought to the board. All student elections will be postponed until these finding are brought forth. Ayes – 6; Nays – 0.

Motions began on expulsion of students

Upon a motion by Dr. Rochelle seconded by Mr. Moses the board voted that Ernest Walston participated in the disruptive activities of February 17, and be expelled. Ayes – 4; Nays – 2. The motion was withdrawn.

Motions began again on expulsion of students

[73 individual motions were made regarding the expulsion or reinstatement of students who were identified as being involved in the incident and appeared for a hearing]

Upon a motion by Dr. Rochelle seconded by Mr. Ward the board voted to suspend all students who were sent letters with the opportunity to appear before the board that did not respond. Ayes – 6; Nays – 0. [Students names were listed.]

Upon a motion by Mr. Ward seconded by Dr. Rochelle the board voted that the students who have been reinstated tonight be reinstated on probation for the remainder of this school year. Ayes – 6; Nays – 0.

Upon a motion by Dr. Rochelle seconded by Dr. Thomas the board voted to instruct the Superintendent to make a public statement that alternatives will be issued soon about education of suspended students. All board members are asked to give thought and perhaps meet at a special meting. Ayes – 6; Nays – 0.

Adjourn

President Hay adjourned the meeting.

Signed J. C. Crownover, Secretary, and A. J. Hay, President

Appendix XV

Interview with Alan Harris, Texas High School Class of 1970:

When were you born?

1952

And you were born in Texarkana?

I was

Which schools did you attend growing up?

Grim Elementary and then F. Ben Pierce Junior High. And then Texas High School.

What year did you graduate from Texas High?

1970

Were you at Texas High on Pine Street first?

Um, yeah, sort of. The ninth grade was, back then, part of middle school. So the Pine Street campus was right next door to us. And our ninth grade credits counted toward our high school diploma. But we were not in the actual Pine Street High School. We were the first group to go through Texas High – the new Texas High – all three years.

So what do you remember most about integration and that process?

Well, I grew up through the Jim Crow and separate but equal era, but Texarkana has always been kind of an unusual place. I don't know if you grew up there or not, but our perspective on the "white side" I'll call it for want of a better term was that everybody seemed to be pretty content with what was going on there. Dunbar was actually a newer school, a much newer school than Pine Street was. As I recall it was air conditioned and we were in a building that was built about 1912 and we were cooled by box fans and things like that. And I think that may have been kind of on purpose – I never heard anyone say that. I think everyone was comfortable with the status quo that the black sports teams produced – the predominantly black colleges, as I understand, gave lots of scholarships and the Dunbar students got a considerable number. And that they were pretty content with that. So when the federal government ordered integration as the law of the land, the school district tried to get by with sort of a separate but equal thing and when they finally said 'No, you're going to integrate.' They came up with a freedom of choice plan, they called it. So every kid had a letter sent to their house and they picked the school they wanted to go to. So this began in my ninth grade at Pierce. And there weren't that many kids that came over… there were three or four, five on the football team, and it was like everybody knew that we were under a microscope, and the black kids didn't want to make any kind of a problem, and the white kids were kind of like, 'Well, they want to be here and everybody's behaving,

everybody's…' I'm not going to say buddy buddy and friendly, but everybody was cordial and, you know, basically kept to themselves. Then as we, as sophomore year rolled around, as I recall they tried that again at the new school and you had a few more kids come over, but the major bulk of Dunbar stayed [at] Dunbar. Then I believe it was the '68-'69 school year the feds shut it down and said, 'No, you will integrate entirely.' So we had a new school built for a certain number of students and suddenly it became crowded. But there was kind of an attitude that we were all kind of on the same boat together. The people who wanted to come over had come over, and the other guys were kind of forced to come over by the federal government so it was almost a 'well we're going to have to deal with this, we're going to have to do it' kind of attitude, if that makes sense. It was sort of like Texarkana being the city it was, it kind of worked things out, but when they combined the schools, you know I hate to point to Hollywood as having a – actually being historic, but the movie "Remember the Titans" is kind of the way it was at Texas High. You know, school boy football was *the thing*. It still is. Friday Night Lights is no exaggeration for Texarkana. So, you know in the beginning some of the guys who came over, the black guys who came over, were really good football players. And there is a book that you might want to google and look at, I copied a couple of pages from it… I think it's called Thursday Night Lights… Yeah, "Thursday Night Lights: The story of black high school football in Texas." Their coach was a guy named Dan Haskins, and I never had a lot to do with [fades out] but the guy was, he was the right guy for the moment. He was nice to everybody, he was concerned about the student's welfare, regardless of who they were, and he was the assistant coach – he was the head coach at Dunbar, but he became the assistant coach under Watty Myers at Texas High. And in this book he actually says he thinks that was the right thing to do, so I would recommend you look at that Thursday Night Lights: The Story of Black High School Football in Texas" written by Michael Hurd, H-U-R-D. And in there he talks about how it all kind of came down but that was one of the unifying things because football was such an important thing, so these guys came out, some of them were mediocre just like the rest of us, but some of them were stars and really did a lot for us. For the team, that kind of built a camaraderie. Now, it was not hug in the hall, you know, everybody's buddy buddy, nor was it an us against them kind of thing, it's just we were put in this predicament and there weren't a bunch of people with a personal agenda and things like that and we got along. Now there were a couple of fights – I'd call them. One of them was actually caused by some guys on the Arkansas side who came over from Washington High School. There were never really, they weren't real big, they shut the school down and everything, you know, went back to normal the following day. But they weren't deal killers, everybody kind of went back to where they were and kind of blamed it on one or two people and it was not a – it wasn't a big deal. At least from my perspective. Um it – it was interesting though because the unifying thing was the sports, especially the football team, but the basketball and sports too. So, yeah. It worked. And I think that was one of the – a credit to the school teachers and administrators and all on both sides, because I'm sure it was tense for them figuring out who fit in where with tenure and that kind of thing. But it was not antagonistic, I'll say. At least, if it was, it blew by me. I didn't see that. Now not to say that everybody was close friends. That would be, I think, a misnomer and misguide you. But it worked and I think a lot of it had to do, like I said, the freedom of choice thing kind of broke the barrier and those kids were, you know, pretty much all top notch in sports or in education and things like that and the rest who had to come over were forced to deal with the situation just like we were forced to deal with the situation so, I think that had a lot to do with it. That gradual introduction rather than everybody

just thrown in with each other. Anyway, that kind of sums it up, I mean if you have any specific questions…

Do you remember anything about Texarkana College integrating? That would have been in '63.

No, no I was too young to really be involved in that.

What do you remember about non-sports, like student council? Did that integrate quickly as well, or did that take a little more time?

You know, I really don't have a lot of vivid memories of that. I think what they did was basically carve out a position like, okay, since the black kids were outnumbered we're going to have one position that's relegated for the black kids – I don't have that in writing, but that's kind of my recollection and I may be wrong about that, but like for the cheerleaders, I know we had one black cheerleader. And, but you know as sort of a guide to give you an idea that things did seem to work, the most popular guy of our 1970 class in our yearbook is George Washington, a black football player. So you know whether or not the administrators played with numbers, I don't know. But he certainly was a popular guy and that went across all the kids. So, I can't reinforce enough that the way it was then was almost surreal in that it went pretty smoothly. And of course the races have always separated in Texarkana, and you would hear expressions like, 'well they knew their place' and whatever kind of way of putting it, but in reality we all kind of knew that – I'll say under the microscope again – because we were, we were being watched and it was, everybody was on their best behavior. And then the familiarity, rather than familiarity breeding contempt I think familiarity bred friendships. Now we, again I'm not trying to say everybody was buddy buddy and all of that, but certainly on the teams there were working relationships and Coach Haskins had a lot to do with the transition, I'll say. He ultimately, I don't know if you've run across him in your research or whatever, he ultimately became the principal at Texas High after I left, I think '73-'74, so you can, I don't know what there is about him online, he died in the last couple of years, and I remember reading in his obituary, there's a quote by George Willige, he was one of my coaches in junior high, and then he was the junior varsity coach and he's quoted in there talking about how he was sort of an ambassador, if you will. And a lot of people give him credit for making things work behind the scenes among faculty. Coach Willige I think is, in fact I think he became the head of the school district for a while. He's still around. I saw him at a thing a couple of years ago where they had outstanding Texas High graduates or whatever and I went up for that and he was there. He's retired now. Yeah, in fact I've got a piece of this here that I kept, and it quotes Willige. It says, "'Dan made sure he was fair to everyone, it didn't matter who you were, he applied the same rules to everyone,' says George Willige who served as Texas High Schools junior varsity coach while Haskins served as varsity coach. 'Always very helpful to both teachers and students alike. He came to school as the first African American football coach, rich with energy and life.'" You know, he was like Sara Lee, nobody doesn't like Sara Lee and nobody didn't like Coach Haskins. You know, some of the kids that came over that I went to Junior High with, they were nice people and, like I said, there had not been a lot of mixing of the races in Texarkana. It had always been a bifurcated society, but I think that because of everyone putting on their best face, we got to be friends. As I say they didn't come over for dinner, but we'd see, speak in the hall and I remember Bruce Sharp, and Joe

Gomer and Willis Greene, some of those guys - they were just nice people. And no one was, it was sort of a neutral ground. Everybody was on their best behavior. I'm sure that there were issues. I'm not painting the perfect rosy picture, but all in all and overall I think it, the way it got introduced with the freedom of choice before the full integration I think actually helped. Other school districts I guess didn't get that luxury. And I mean you can see how that would help as supposed to everybody just suddenly "boom" here you are. So, you know at the time I'm sure the federal government saw it as a plot to avoid integration but for Texarkana it worked.

So what do you think, looking back now what do you think has been the best thing that has come from integration of the education system?

I think it's got people learning to cohabitate. I spent my adult career as a policeman down here in Houston and, I know this is not related to Texarkana, but I've had black people tell me that they felt like integration was bad for black society. And that the kids who are troubled kids were in an all black school and the teachers disciplined them, and for some of them it was the only place they saw discipline until they dropped out of school or straightened up. And that in an integrated school there was this growing political correctness or whatever that the kids didn't get the correction that they would have gotten in a segregated school. And these were older people they'd just been burglarized or had some kind of issue – but there are interviews where I think some of the older people, talking about my age 60-70 years old, think maybe it was a bad idea. But it's the law of the land so we had to, we made it work, and the benefit I think is that kids integrate early and there's not, there's not as much animosity now. Our political system right now I think, I kind of keep my mouth shut there, I think we've had more division since 2000 than we have ever before, especially with – since 2008.

Do you think that without *Brown v. Board* Texarkana would have ever integrated of its own accord? The schools? Do you think that would have ever been a natural…?

Not – I don't think so at that time. Would they have done it if it had become a financial situation where the school districts were going "pfft" and here in Houston we have some that were going broke and doing badly – I think they might have consolidated schools, but not in 1968-69 they wouldn't have. It would have taken years and years and years, if ever.

Appendix XVI

Interview with Gayle Brewington, teacher at Fifteenth Street during its first year of integration, and Charles Parks, Washington High School Class of 1968:

Did you grow up in Texarkana?

BREWINGTON: I did.

What schools did you go to?

BREWINGTON: Texas High, the whole Texas - Texarkana school system.

Way out on Pine [street]?

BREWINGTON: Way out on Pine. In the *real* Texas High. The real one.

Where did you go to elementary and junior high?

BREWINGTON: Highland Park, Pine Street was my junior high – the real junior high – the one we have the bricks from, they tore it down. And then… here he comes.

[Charles Parks enters; says he will be back in a moment]

Where did you go to college?

BREWINGTON: North Texas, University of North Texas.

And then you came back here to teach?

BREWINGTON: Mhmm.

What year was that?

BREWINGTON: Um, '69.

And what school did you start teaching at?

BREWINGTON: It was called Fifteenth Street [Elementary School].

What grade did you teach?

BREWINGTON: Fifth.

And what do you remember about that time period?

BREWINGTON: Okay, this was the first year of integration in Texarkana – or desegregation, whichever you want to call it. It was the first year, and long story short, to accomplish this they decided to take all of the fifth and sixth graders in all of TISD and put them on one campus. They mixed the black children with the white, that was Fifteenth Street campus, so it was just fifth and sixth grade students. All. From all the neighborhood schools. They bussed them. They bussed them to those campuses unless they lived in that neighborhood. And the first thing that I remember is that they put five of us brand new teachers that had never taught before on that campus. And of course we knew nothing. We thought we knew everything, but we knew nothing as it turned out. There were five of us brand new teachers. Now Fifteenth Street is in a black neighborhood and all the teachers there prior to us were black or African American. It was a little intimidating at first. They were very helpful and sweet to us. The children, the kids got along. They were all very welcoming to each other. There wasn't - they didn't feel - they were happy. But as far as the adults go, there were demonstrations around the school. The black neighborhood did not particularly want to welcome the whites. They were against bringing all the white students. But the white adults would demonstrate around the building saying they were protecting their kids. We had knives. If I look outside my window, there might be someone watching around the building with a knife or a gun. I don't really know why that wasn't stopped. I don't remember if it was. I just remember it happening.

[Charles Parks joined the interview]

Did you grow up here?

PARKS: Well, like I was telling Mrs. Brewington, I was born in N____, Arkansas. About 20 some-odd miles up the highway here. At the age of about 6-7, we moved to Texarkana and I started the first grade here at Carver Elementary. 'Course it's not an Elementary school anymore, but the building is still there. Up until the time I was about, I would say 7th grade, I was at Washington High in the 7th grade and that was my last grade year there because I was a military kid and we subsequently started traveling. This was around the year 1965. We ended up in Germany for one year and then we came back here to the United States in '66 and early '67. That's when I subsequently graduated from the school that I started in the 7th grade, which was Washington High. I graduated in 1968.

So you graduated in '68, so that was the last graduating class at Washington High?

PARKS: I'm not sure if it was the last year. Well it could have been, I'm not sure because after that I went into the workforce. Then subsequently got drafted back into the military. I'm not sure of the time sequence.

What grades were at Washington High? Was it 7th through 12th?

PARKS: 7th through 12th. Carver Elementary went from 1st grade to 6th grade. I know that because I remember one of my favorite 6th grade teachers. Mr. Earnest Robinson, who would turn out later to be my pastor. I knew it was 6th grade. That was the last grade year at Carver.

What do you remember about living in Texarkana specifically during that time period in the '60s and then going to Germany and coming back? Did you notice any big differences in the quality of the schools you attended?

PARKS: After leaving Texarkana and going into the military, the military studying is quite different from the world. Because in the world, a lot of things that people of color had to go through, you didn't go through as much on the military base because they have a lot of guidelines and policies and procedures in place that guarded against that type of activity. So it was a whole different thing. But being on a military base… [there] wasn't as much pressure present as it was in the world. So from the 7th grade until my senior year I was mostly on military bases. And we went to the same places, did the same thing, shopped the same stores. So forth so on. So even though I was aware of it [segregation], it did not directly affect the black person on a military base as it did a black person in the world.

When you came back to Texarkana from being on military bases, was it odd going back to a segregated school?

PARKS: Washington High was all black at the time. When I graduated, I'm thinking maybe '69 or the year after, they started integrating. So I didn't get a chance to experience that, but I [was speaking] to Mrs. Brewington today and it was kind of funny the way she was describing it. It was chaos, you know, when it first happened. And I can imagine, even though I wasn't directly a part of it. But I can imagine just being a black man in America, I've experienced the racism and the other things that come along with it. You know, but not to a greater extent that some of my other people because of the way I was brought up, with the military and all that. Then I went back to the military and I got back in '72, and of course by then, things had pretty much settled in. Prejudice and racism and things of that nature, they continued but I'm thinking now more of a confined basis. Now it's not so wide open but it's still there. You still have your hate groups and things of this nature. Back when I was around 7, because I think about Louis Bridges, and she was born about 5 years after I was. I'm no spring chicken, I was born in 1949 and she was born in 1954. There were things that she experienced, I saw the signs, the white, the colored. Colored goes to the back. Things of this nature. Go to the back of the bus. I experienced that but not to the extent that I got shoved and beaten and thrown around and all that because I wasn't exposed to it like that. But I was yet aware of it. So I guess in the long run, I was kind of neutral but very much aware of what was going on.

Did you like Carver Elementary? Do you ever feel like you wished you went to a white school? Is that something that you thought about? Did you feel that the facilities were inadequate? Like the quality of your books? Were you even aware of that?

PARKS: I wasn't aware of it in that sense but later on, I went back and I can remember basically just reading, writing information, spelling and things of that nature but I do recall the books - whereas you could have a book and open it up and there's a name there and next year there's another name and that book remained until it literally fell apart. And to get a new book, that was something special. You know you're the first person to get that book and at the end of the season you turn it back in and the next person comes and they sign it out. When I look back now at what

is presented to the kids nowadays, not just here at Morris [Elementary], but some of the other elementary schools where you got blacks, whites, everything going on now, the learning curriculum is totally different. We were just taught the basics. The teachers who did get an opportunity to go to college and learn, even my own teacher - he had just enough to be a teacher and I knew it goes further than that nowadays but they just taught him enough to get him into the classroom to teach us just so we can count from 1-10 and be able to read... Just the basics.

BREWINGTON: Did they have to go to college?

PARKS: Back then, they had the black colleges but even then, they weren't adequately supplied all the necessary things you need to learn. Just enough to say we got a college for you. This is where you go and they feed them whatever they want to feed them. As far as getting them educated so they can go into the system and teach the others.

Do you remember what year you moved to Texarkana in the first grade?

PARKS: I'm gonna say about 1955-1956.

Do you remember anything about the riots that happened in 1956 in Texarkana college when they first tried to desegregate? Or were you too young?

PARKS: As I was telling Mrs. Brewington yesterday, when you grow up as a black child in a racially motivated society, you always got to listen to your parents. Your parents would say don't do this or don't go in this store, don't touch that, don't say this, don't say that - you pretty much didn't focus on that then. You just listened to your parents and do what they say and if they say you be in the house at six, then you be in the house at six. I guess, hindsight would suggest that point of view was - what's going on here? Why are we having to do this and go in through the back door and you got two water fountains? Why is that? A lot of that came to my attention behind the story of Louis Bridges. I was aware of what was going on there, just in tidbits. For the most part, my parents might have not really wanted us to know too much because they wanted to keep us safe. Just like there could be at least one person in the family who could be like, "I don't like this, I want to do something about it." In my family structure, I remember that was a no-no. You just keep your mouth shut and do what you're told to do and you'll be okay. Back then, that was really the sensible thing to do because a lot of stories that I've heard… It was just one of those things I was just kind of neutral. And I kind of hate that in a way because even back then, a voice is a voice. MLK was a voice. But as long as I can remember, I have always been a person of peace. I just believed in doing the right thing and acting the right way and just hoping for the best. Back then, it was difficult just seeing a lot of things that was going on, racial injustice in the workplace, getting on the bus, going to the grocery store - you go in the back and you get what the man give you and you leave out the back and you go back home. I can remember this in my earlier years in Louisville. They had the country store and you'd go down there. Mama would say "y'all wait right here" and we would just wait and she would go inside with her little sack. She would come out with whatever goods she purchased. Back then - I think the word is sharecropping - whereas we have a place and my parents would work the field and cook for us. The person in charge would just give us what he felt was fair as long as you were out there working from sunup to sundown. It was sort of like something instilled within your mind. "This

is the way it is so don't try to change it. It will only get worse if you try to do anything or say anything." When you don't have a choice, that's the mentality you have to embrace. As time changed… well that's not exactly the way it should've been then. Some things should not be today, but things have progressively gotten better. But it's still a problem.

BREWINGTON: I have a funny story to tell about the colored water fountains. Downtown there was a store called Belk Jones and it had an escalator, which was fun to ride up and down and me being sort of a very curious. Under the escalator there were two water fountains, one said white and one said coloreds. Well I sort of thought that the coloreds may have something special - and we were not to drink out of that water fountain. But I had to see. I had to see. It had a little wooden stool you could step up on and I was with our black housekeeper who had taken us down there shopping. I was told, "No, you can't get a drink from that water fountain," and that just made it all the more enticing. I knew there was something special in colored and I needed to know. So when she wasn't looking, I stepped up on that stool and got me a big drink from that plain old water fountain. Nothing special came out. I got in so much trouble. She said, "Gayle get down from there, you know you're not supposed to do that." But it's just water. I did not understand at all. But I didn't do it again. That water fountain was removed in the early '60s. It was there for a long time, probably until desegregation, maybe '69.

PARKS: I do recall when I was a senior at Washington High, I didn't see a lot of that anymore. I had seen it. You see the pictures but in real life, I did see it especially in downtown Texarkana. They were even in the courthouse and you say the white and black and the restrooms that were convenient for the whites that were right there but the colored ones were down the hall and around the corner. I remember that. Back when I was in high school, I didn't see a lot of it then. I don't recall so I think at that particular stage- might have been earlier, might have been later- I think the signs had been removed.

BREWINGTON: I can vividly recall that in Bryce's Cafeteria, it was whites only downtown. I must have been in high school by then and that was late. I don't know when that changed.

PARKS: And then some [law] says if a person owns a business they can do what they want with it, and I don't think there's any law that says you have to serve blacks in your business. If it's all white, it's all white. As time progressed, I guess I don't have anything against white people. I really truly don't but I think for the most part as time did progress, people started searching their conscience. They started realizing this is wrong and we got to stop this. I think the ones that matter voiced their opinion in that respect made a difference to their white sisters and brothers. Some were silent and didn't want to say anything because it was a big thing. Being white and being black and in America - and then the blacks are harboring this hatred from being brought over from their country and taken away from their families in the middle of the night and being thrown on a boat in shackles and coming to a land they've never been to before. There's this man standing over them with a whip and all these racial slurs... I think anybody with a conscience would see that's simply wrong. There's a lot of injustice there. That was then and this is now but - I use this as a phrase, hopefully it's not offensive - it hasn't gone away but it's simply been modernized to where there's a lot of undercover stuff going on in the school system, the workplace. Blacks are not yet getting their fair share of what America has to offer because it wasn't our choice to come here but we're here and now we got to try to make it. The barriers that

had been put in place and some are yet in place prevent blacks from meeting their full potential. If [a white person] got hired into a school system making $6 an hour and I have the same qualifications, I get $4 an hour. I would call that injustice. It has a lot of levels but I try to think positive because, maybe my spirituality, it has a lot to do with it to. I try to stay positive and let go and let God. Do the best I can in whatever situation I'm in. Whatever chance that I have to make a difference then I want to be found doing that. I think that's the best way that anyone can help make the situation better. Do what you can while you can and do the best you can at whatever it is you're given to do. I think that in the long run will make a difference.

To what extent do you think - you talked about how anyone with a conscience can see that treatment and that discrimination is not right - to what extent do you think educating kids from a young age and desegregating schools has helped people see different races as humans and as equals? From growing up in a segregated school system and then now working in a desegregated system, do you see that integration has been beneficial?

PARKS: To a certain extent, I do believe it has been. But I have to go back to the home itself, the kids out in Morris [Elementary], they don't know how much they actually make my day some days. I just go down and they start "Hey Mr. Parks, hey Mr. Parks!" They walk up and give me hugs and everything - and the majority of these kids are white. I'm gonna be speaking to Mrs. Neeches class next week on some - I don't even know what I'm gonna be talking about. She asked me to do this same thing. I've talked to several classes but I think it starts at home. Kids are honest and they're going to bring to the forefront what they've got from the house. I can see some kids, and you're going to have some in every group, that turn the other way when you're walking down the hall or look up at the ceiling as if something is falling down. I remember a teacher who was here and for whatever reason, she had a problem just speaking to me and I would walk down the hall and then all of a sudden, she's about 10ft away from me and she would look around and look up. I walked up to her one day and I said, "What's going on up there?" [laughter] It came out real positive or else I would have never done that. She said "Oh no, I just want to make sure no ceiling is falling in on anybody."

BREWINGTON: Do you notice the children - that it is a mostly white school but we do have other races here? From my observation and just being on the playground, [the students] don't pay any attention to what color they are.

PARKS: They really don't.

BREWINGTON: The young ones don't.

PARKS: You're absolutely right. This is my fifth season here, and I have said this often, I have never worked around such a positive group of children in all my 12 years in the district.

BREWINGTON: Where were you before here?

PARKS: I started out at Texas High. I was over there for four years.

BREWINGTON: Did you notice racial tension there?

PARKS: Well, there it was more visible. Especially when Obama became president…back at that time, I remember Mr. Bailey [principal] sent out a protocol about being alert after the election because he felt like it's gonna be some racial tension. I didn't really notice a lot of that but it was there.

BREWINGTON: I wonder if these young children who don't notice any difference will carry that with them the older they get, because I guess the way these kids are being raised all different colors - they have never seen one… treated another one like anything other than what they are.

PARKS: What really encourages me sometimes is when I can come to the campus and a parent will come up - even today when they would come up and have lunch with their kids - I can be going down the hall and they go, "Oh you're Mr. Parks, my kids just talk about you all the time!" That is so encouraging because I don't care if you're white, black, Chinese, Mexican, whatever, I'm gonna treat you like the child that you are in this system and I try to do the same with everybody that I work with. I think that itself makes a difference. They can see a black man who's not harboring any hatred or acting ugly towards them, and I think that registers with them and they take it home. At home, it could get reversed because the parent might not want you being so friendly with that black man. It happens, but I don't entertain that thought. I'm just a realist and I try to keep it real in my own mind about what's really going on. This is a great atmosphere for learning and I can see where you can make a difference if you're white or black as far as molding the minds of these children as to what's right and what's wrong concerning racial issues and injustices and just being a positive person in general towards your fellow man.

BREWINGTON: They're lucky you're here.

PARKS: I love those kids, and they are my source of encouragement. I know I'm talking a lot but I wanted to share this story. I don't know how it happened but this one, she happened to be a little white girl. She "Mr. Parks you gonna do that dance I saw you doing?" and I don't know where it derived from, but [the students] gave it a name. It was called the chicken dance and I don't know what I was doing or where she saw it at, but [she said] "it looked like you was doing a chicken dance." "You mean this?" [silly dance move] "Yes that's it!" It took off like a rocket about 6 or 7 students would always hit me up in the cafeteria and say "Mr. Parks, you gonna do the chicken dance?" They wanted me to video it and put it up on the big screen so the whole class could see. It was something else. They bothered me about this – [it] was totally out of whack last season before the break. One had left the school, but then they were bringing it up again. So I love that it puts a smile on their face and makes them laugh - then I'm all for it. I don't know know if I answered your question.

You did and then some! I don't have any more questions for you but if there's anything else you'd like to say? Your time in school on the Arkansas side or anything? Integration of schools?

PARKS: Well I'll just end my session by saying I know as an adult, I'm 69 years old so I've been around a minute and I'll be 70 on November 29th of this year. I have experiences the injustices, the racism. Some people don't like you just because they don't like you. You haven't

done anything to them. I'm here today to tell you that if I can make a difference by my actions and my words then I want to be found doing so. Who knows just having this conversation could make things progressively better. But right now, that's where I stand. I'll just be found doing all I can to try to make a difference.

Thank you so much! This was wonderfully helpful.

[*discussion about thesis project*]

BREWINGTON: I will say that I remember that year in '69 when they were bussing children all over the city, everybody wished they could go to school in their own neighborhood like they always did. They wished they would just leave us alone and let us go to school in our neighborhood. That was hard for a lot of families to have their little ones put on a bus and sent across town, black or white. It took longer to get home for everybody so everybody that year wished - there's got to be a better way.

PARKS: I've got to imagine that when that was going on, it may take away from your concentration - wondering what new white kid is gonna be coming here today and just takes away from your whole curriculum – as you were saying being taken out of your environment. "Things were okay like they were, what's going on here?" But that wasn't a very smart statement because you got to figure with change there also comes a little bit more added to the plate. You may not have to keep using the same book, year after year. For the most part, some changes are good and I do believe that was one of them. It started out a little bumpy.

BREWINGTON: Started out so bumpy, that my husband was in basic training down in Ft. Polk, Louisiana and I would come home and tell the stories to my father-in-law. We had just bought a house before he went away to basic training and I started teaching and he offered, if I would just quit my job, he would pay my house payment until Mike got back home - because I came home with stories. It wasn't - it was how the adults were acting. I was afraid with the demonstrations going on all around the school. I was telling her that white people were demonstrating that they wanted their kids protected, and the black people were demonstrating we don't want the white people in our neighborhood. It was awful. I was afraid to walk to my car in the afternoons. But I saw the year through. One year. Well, Thank you, Mr. Parks!

PARKS: Thankful for the invitation.

[*Mr. Parks left*]

BREWINGTON: The year that they decided [combine Fifteenth Street], they brought in a white principal and a black principal. One of each. It was crazy. Mr. Fluellen was the black principal and the kids called him Mr. "flew out the window." I'll never forget that. The white principal was Noel Porter... And they did the best they could, I think, in handling problems. But it really was chaos because you come from different experiences and backgrounds. I told you a little fifth grade girl was raped by her brother in law, and she described it to me because she was bleeding. And I said, "Do you know if it's your period?" and she said, "No, I was raped." I said, "Are you sure?" And then she *described* it and I said, "Oh okay, thank you." I asked if she went to the

doctor and she said, “Yes, my mother took me because it's happened two times and the doctor said if it happens again, ‘I’ll have to turn you in.’” So I went to the [black] principal - her name was ******, I’ll never forget it - and I told him about it and I said I need to report this and he said, no ma'am you don't. I said, “Do I have a responsibility to report this?” And he said you'll be in danger if you do because you don't understand our culture. “The family will handle this but you can't be the one to turn this in.” I said, “Well I’m telling you.” But he said, “You will be endangering yourself if you report this.” I’ll never forget that I didn't report this. That's when my father in law said “I’ll pay your house paycheck if you quit this job.” I don't think anyone knew what to do that first year. I don't think they knew how to do it. They desegregated but they didn't know what they were doing.

Was it mostly the parents and the protesting?

BREWINGTON: I don't even know if they were parents - just people. Two groups of people who would [protest], and it may have been - in my mind, looking out the window that one day… It wasn't every day, it was random. They were younger, not teenager but not old people. They were younger. I guess from each camp they just didn’t like - this wasn't the way to do it. “We don't want the white kids in our school,” and the white kids - whoever those people were felt like they needed to protect them. I don't think that lasted more than that first year. I don't recall that it did. Something else I was gonna tell you, I did find that I made the special [education] teachers very angry with me because I put five or six kids in special ed. that had been… Just had not been… And I didn't know that they just bumped them along [at the black schools] and it had to do with resources and funding and “we can't serve all these kids so we’ll just put them in [a normal class].” I think that’s one thing that benefited from desegregation is that all the kids were served equally, and the special ed. kids got the help they needed.

Did you see any discrepancies in students’ preparation coming into your grade? Some say they expected the black kids not to be prepared and some say they had no problem. Or was it just like going on to the next grade but at a different school?

BREWINGTON: I had just graduated from college so I felt like I could change the world and I was just saying bring it on. I did find out that there's not the parental support when I assigned a big project. Maybe three kids out of my five classes did it… And it was the expectations for the support they got at home that was not the same as what I was told in college that all the kids would be able to do. But I'm thinking back - was I educated to teach in a segregated society maybe? I don't know. I mean it was “all children can learn” and if all these needs are met… I do remember taking snacks – cereal and snacks to serve to my early morning kids because they would come hungry. I’m thinking in my mind Boo Mitchell was bussed. I want to think he was one of the ones that was bussed over to Fifteenth Street… But it was a learning experience. I don't know when they went back to neighborhood schools. Do you?

I do not, but I think now there are still some qualifications… When you were teaching at Fifteenth Street that first year, was it 50/50? What were the percentages because it had been a black school?

BREWINGTON: It wasn't 50/50 I don't think but it was all of the 5th and 6th grade students in Texarkana. All of them went to that campus. It was the only 5th and 6th grade campus. So I don't know percentages… But it seemed black, I guess because there were mostly black teachers and it was in a black neighborhood. Maybe there were more black kids, I don't know. If you went to TISD, you went to that campus for 5th and 6th. Period. The end. I don't know how they chose teachers that first year within the district. If they transferred them or if they volunteered, that would be interesting to know, but putting five of us first-year teachers all together was probably not the best. But we paddled the kids. I broke paddles on kids. Broke them in half. That was all we had to do to discipline and the principals would not. They made me do it. If you don't do it, they wont respect you.

A lot people that I talked to that were teachers and students on the Arkansas side, said they thought [desegregation] would last two years and then it would go back to being segregated. Did you get that vibe from administration or parents?

BREWINGTON: I got the idea from the teachers, the black teachers that had been there - and they were nothing but sweet to us – but the idea that they would go back to their own school. They were very encouraging, especially to the new teachers. But they didn't think this was going to be the way of the future. And I don't know why they thought that.

A lot of the people I talked to would say we never foresaw it lasting.

BREWINGTON: That's what the black teachers thought. They may have wanted it to go back because everybody was comfortable in their own skin and their own little way they did things - so I just remember them saying "this won't last" and "these kids don't need to be bussed all over town. If you just leave them where they are, it'll work out."

Do you remember anything about sensitivity training? It was mentioned and debated in the minutes and I never got resolution as to if it happened.

BREWINGTON: No, no. We went to a new teacher training which was paperwork, fill out your stuff and I'm not even sure that I knew it was the first year – I mean, I went to my job as a new teacher and I was excited! We went to the new teacher training or whatever it was that week and then they dumped us in the classroom, writing lesson plans.

So did you expect it to be integrated?

BREWINGTON: Yes, I knew we were going to have all 5th and 6th grade kids in Texarkana so I knew I would have both, but it never occurred to me that it was going to be an issue. I was a new teacher that could change the world, and I could teach anybody to do anything. It's sad! Your first year you teach is not something you ever want to remember! I feel sorry for the kids, and everybody says that: what did they *learn*? I'm sure they learned nothing and got lots of hugs. No…Your first year is hard anyway, and this was really hard. It was really hard. To even make a new plan every week and try to figure out how am I gonna get it done this week and what can I do. It was wild.

Appendix XVII

Interview with Donald Nelson, Washington High School Class of 1954, teacher at Washington and Arkansas High Schools and Principal of Arkansas High School:

When were you born?

March 2, 1937. Means I'm 81 years old. Blessed.

Were you born in Texarkana?

Texarkana, Arkansas.

Where did you attend school?

I went to school at what is now the 4A Academy, but it was Booker T. Washington then, okay. I graduated in THE year. The year of Brown v. Board of Topeka, Kansas. I graduated in 1954 – I was a senior on May 17, 1954 when that decision was rendered, okay. I also went to college – if you're interested in that too – at Central State in Wilberforce, Ohio. And then I later transferred to what is now UAPB (University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff) and got my degree in history and political science. I have since then acquired a master's [degree] from Henderson State in history and political science. My intention was to be a college professor, but before I could get to that we got into integration, we integrated and when we integrated there was a need for some African Americans and I was selected for the first African American assistant principal at Arkansas High School. And then, once I got over into administration, I really liked teaching and when I was invited to come over because at that time the black community was actually, they were asking to see blacks in administrative and executive roles and what have you. So the community wanted to see some and I was asked to come in and to satisfy the community and be the first African American assistant principal. From 1982-1986 I was, I am the only African American principal that they have had at Arkansas High. Still to this day – they've had some assistant principals, but not THE principal. So instead of going back, getting what I really thought I was going to get – the Ph.D. – I wind up having to go in and take an extra 46 hours to get administratively certified as a principal and later on I retired as deputy superintendent. Served on the school board for 11 years.

You graduated in '54, and then you were teaching…

I started teaching back in the high school where I graduated, and I taught at Booker Washington history and political science from 1961 to 1969. We integrated at the high school level with Arkansas High in 1969. The Washington campus remained a junior high for another year.

So how did you feel being a student yourself when that landmark decision was made, and then teaching in the school for so long with no action being done?

Well, that's a great question, because… When the Supreme Court – you're familiar with Brown v. Topeka, Kansas? And you realize that the suit actually, Oliver Brown actually made the suit in

1951 and it, they began to argue in front of the Supreme Court in 1952, even though the decision was not finally made until 1954, okay – so when the courts ruled, they said with all deliberate speed, but it just so happens that "all deliberate speed" means one thing to one person and another thing to another. In 1955, the courts came back and said we're going to allow the states and the districts to implement it. So they [the states] were the ones to interpret "all deliberate speed" so, oddly enough, it was 15 years later, after the Brown v. Board of Topeka, Kansas decision in 1954, in 1969 before we integrated here. And when I was a senior I realized that I was not going because I was going away, but we thought that the kids at Booker Washington the next year were going to integrate. And again, as I said, when the courts decided that the local people would decide and the local people were against integration, then "all deliberate speed" meant something different. It meant "I'm going to stay out of this as long as I can.

In a lot of articles that I've read, especially in the Texarkana Gazette, argue that Texarkana wasn't "ready" for integrating after the Supreme Court made that decision. Do you think that, without some sort of federal impetus, Texarkana ever would have been "ready"?

No. Because the local people, specifically in the South, were never going to be "ready." And when we integrated, the school district – the board, the district – they made no plans for integration. They didn't say to them, "okay guys, let's get prepared because we have some African American kids coming, black kids at that particular time. They may be a little different… I know they look a little different but they think a little different from you. They have different backgrounds and so we're going to have to take that kind of consideration and be a little sensitive to that." Never. They didn't say one thing because, what I've begun to realize now, is that the system to be, that was primarily white, they didn't think it was going to last. They just… cause the black kids didn't want to come, and the white parents and kids didn't want them to come and it was so uncomfortable that if you had asked the black kids and the black teachers at that time, they would have gone back, okay. And the whites would have been glad. So the system did not think - those who were in charge of making it ready did not make it ready. They wanted it to be as uncomfortable as possible because they felt like it would last about two years. They never had any idea that it would last all the way to 2019. Even though we've gone back over a period of time in the last 10 years and re-segregated our school systems. So, they really didn't… they did not prepare at all because they didn't think it was going to last.

What was it like for the students and the teachers that first year of combining the two high schools?

It was very uncomfortable… On this side, and the same thing happened at Texas High because Texas High integrated in 1968, we integrated the next year in 1969… For the first two or three years there were student riots because of the fact they did not get the white kids prepared and the black kids were not prepared, so when the black schools merged and integrated – we were lions and then we were hogs, our colors at Booker Washington were maroon and white and when we got to Arkansas High they were scarlet red and white. I went later on, I did not go the first year as a teacher, they only took a handful of teachers at that particular time, I had an afro on my head and they kind of felt like at that time everybody that had an afro was militant and we didn't pay any attention to that we just went ahead because that was something that identified blacks

separately. Whites in the system were afraid of blacks who were different, as long as you assimilated and acted white and looked white, they understood you because you were like them. But when they grew afros and that kind of thing and they dressed different, it scared them to death, you know. They just totally didn't understand it. And then, as I said, for the first three years we had student riots. The band at Arkansas High played, for their fight song, Dixie. And Dixie represents a lot of great and wonderful things for a lot of people even today, but the black kids did not feel like it represented them very well. So what they did, the kids who were in the band, they refused to play their instruments when they played that. The band director from Booker Washington came over as the assistant band director, so he was between a rock and a hard place because here was his job and he was expected to encourage the black kids to play and they said "we ain't gonna do that" so, somewhere along the line, Arkansas school district got smart and did away with Dixie, and that's why we have the fight song, we have the same one that the University of Arkansas has. I went the second year, and they were still having riots. In fact, we had to turn out school three days early for Christmas because we were having riots on our campus. Very fortunately for me, I was highly respected by the black kids, the white kids didn't know me, but when I got there, I had them to understand that they were not different than me. The only thing they had different a little different shade of color – they were light green and the black kids were dark green, okay? – but they were just kids. And I had no fear of them nor their parents because I had told them I'd been to the super bowl already nine years at the black school, I know what I'm doing and I expect you to come in here and I'm going to respect you and you're going to respect me and you're going to get to work. Because when you come in here, it ain't no joke. You know I had little phrases, little things like "there ain't no pity in the naked city" that fitted them, they knew what it meant. And so I also started off too tough. And my first year as a teacher, the superintendent of schools, Mr. Ed Trice who was a great man – he was a white man before his time because he was very sensitive to integration incoming, and the school board was not and they really lamented him because of the fact he was passionate and he was fair and he said hey come on we've got to respect these guys too – but he said to me something I never forgot, he said "Mr. Nelson, if you're going to be successful, you've got to manage students and you have to start off the first day too tough because if you are too tough later on you can loosen up, but you can't start off too loose, because they will not let you tighten up, okay." And so, I never forgot that. And he also said to me that you need to be able to do four things to be successful. And as I progressed after I was principal, I went in to the central office as assistant superintendent and finally I was director personnel with the responsibility of hiring all certified personnel and when I sat in front, I had a round table kind of like this, I got out from behind the desk because that scared young applicants to death, it was too structured, I wanted them to know, "hey, I'm here by you." In fact, I didn't ask them a lot of questions I kind of told them "hey this is what we're looking for" and what I simply said to them was "If you're going to be successful, there are four things you need to be able to do. And I know they work because they worked for me. And the first one is you need to be prepared. You need to be prepared every day with your students – subject matter, prepared to manage, information, what have you - and the second thing, if you're going to win their respect, you need to be fair. And the third thing you need to be is firm. Consistently prepared, consistently fair and consistently firm. They will not allow you to be firm unless you are fair. And the fourth thing you need to be consistent. And what happens to a lot of people in a lot of areas is they're not consistent. They're one thing today and something else tomorrow. So, I remember those things. When we integrated I went in my classroom and taught American history I had some guys that wanted to come in and clown, I said, "hey bubba,

not in here. I don't play that." You know. It's obvious that the white kids had been told that the black teachers were not prepared. You know, these guys didn't know. And we sent some of our best teachers over there and so it took them a while to understand that we were as prepared as the white teachers. We were not given that kind of credit, but we were, okay. And so eventually I handled my students, I didn't play, you know, I loved them, I said but that's just the way we're gonna do, this is the way the cow ate the cabbage, we're gonna do that, that applies to, I had black students in that class – the same thing - I didn't make any special concessions for them. Everybody was just a student. I didn't see a color; I didn't care about their past or care about what their parents did because I was teaching kids. So, I was able to kind of corral because a lot of the black students were a little rebellious because they felt like they were not being treated fair and I came in and was very valuable because when the war was on and the riots was on, the white men who were teachers, they couldn't touch the black kids because if they did they fought them just like the did the white students. So I came in and was able to say, you know, "hey guys, we've got some problems, but we're not going to solve them fighting because when we fight we're going to get put out of school. So the first two or three years were very tumultuous, but after that we began to settle down. I think whites began to say hey this ain't going away. This is going to be. And blacks we can't go back, we're gon' be here. But the first two or three years were very tumultuous in terms of physical confrontations and that kind of thing.

The physical confrontations – were they all racially motivated?

Yes. Mhmm. Yeah. Black students at that time, their hairstyles were the afro. And they would go and get the K-cutters to comb their afros, but it became a weapon when they got ready… when they got into… and those K-cutters, many of them have sharp prongs, became a weapon and so we outlawed them, they could not bring them to school. But, the system sometimes is blind to what happened with the white kids. In our parking lots we had white kids with pick-up trucks with 30-30s in the gun rack, okay. At the school. And they didn't say anything about that until I brought that to their attention. Now you have declared that the K-cutter is a weapon, and it is – it's a hair tool when you brush your hair but when you fight it becomes a weapon, but their kids that's got 30-30s in the gun rack – that's a known weapon – and what are you going to do about that? "Well we didn't know Mr. Nelson" and I said well fine but, you know, over a period of time it finally settled down and they began to realize that black kids were worthy. I had one or two white teachers to tell me "you don't have black cheerleaders, black majorettes, black officers because the kids haven't proven themselves" I said, "Is that right?" I said, "I can name you five white kids who are in positions that didn't prove themselves, but they are there because they are popular and they come from the right homes." So we've got to… You know, we had to get past that. Finally, in 1979, Arkansas High selected its first black homecoming queen but, before that, in 1973/4 we had a black student boycott at Arkansas High. The kids walked out and stayed for a week. Took the football players also. And the football team lost the next six games. So that kind of got at their attention. So Swede Lee came in as coach – the previous coach was fired because he did not win, which was unfair to him because, if it had been left up to him – when the boycott was over, they refused to let the black players come back, so they played the rest of the year with only three black players on the team and they were three guys that did not help – new coach and new principal came in with new ideas, and then, at that time, we convened, while the black students were on boycott we convened a biracial council. I was assistant principal, the principal at that time was not in favor. He said "let the student council do that." I said, "the student council

doesn't represent the black kids." 'cause at that time, you didn't have any black kids on the student council, and no poor white kids. The only kids who were on the student council were the kids who were well-to-do and came… so the poor white kids and the blacks were left out, and I said that won't fly. So we established what we called a biracial council having two representatives, two blacks and two whites, from grades 10, 11 and 12. And we met, I was asked to be one of the sponsors and a young lady whose name was Gayle Cogby at that time was the sponsor for the student council. So the two of us met with this particular group. And, oddly enough, the white kids who were on that council were fair. They just simply said "we understand what's going on" and a couple of football players said "hey, we understand that totally" and decisions were made at that time – Texas High already, I think the year or so before, they had three black cheerleaders on their cheerleading squad. We had none at that time – and so we said, well let's look at that system. So the next year we came up with black cheerleaders and black majorettes and from that point on, as time went by, black presidents of the student council, black officers – My daughter was president of her senior class in 1982, I was proud of her and that was my first year as principal because I got accused of promoting that, but they didn't realize that I didn't vote… that was done by a student vote, but people will accuse, you know. Not only that, but my first year as principal, for three years in a row the homecoming queens were black. I got accused of that, but they didn't realize that I didn't play football, you know. The football players elected them. And what was happening was, is that the football team was becoming more predominantly black, so. The black teachers retired. We had a lot of black teachers who retired and were replaced by white teachers. If you go to the schools now, you probably only have a handful of black teachers there now. But what happened is at one-time teacher education was the primary role for black education. Today there are other avenues and other things for them to do. But sometimes administrators don't realize that just having a great teacher in the room who's able to dispense information, maybe have an A transcript, that does not apply and does not answer for everybody. Black youngsters need to see blacks in leadership roles so that they can aspire to, yeah, they respect white teachers and what have you and white principals, but they like to see examples. You know, you tell them you can be this and they don't see anybody in that particular position. We run into the same thing with kids who live in low-income areas. They see gangsters, riding around with "bling-bling" around their neck, cars with 22s, 24s on them. That's all they see. And pretty money in their pocket. And that's what they want to be. Unfortunately, guys like myself, black dentists, doctors, lawyers, don't live in those areas anymore. They've moved out. And so those kids don't get a chance to see us as role models.

[*loss of recording*]

So, you know, I encourage, I'm in a fraternity and we go back sort of meet – that's where I was this afternoon down at North Heights because we had a group down there, it behooves us to go back to those communities and work with those kids and say "hey, there's another way besides being a slick. That's a quick way to get rich but it's also a quick way to get killed" but I can't blame the kids because that's not what they see. They see that. I thought that once we integrated, that eventually, over a period of time, that we would accept it. I have grown to realize now that in many instances this country never did. That right after they integrated, from that particular time, they began to work to defeat it. What they simply did… we… they had what they call liberal, those terms do not apply to me because I am of the opinion that at one time everybody is liberal and at another time they become conservatives. Generally, people are liberal when they

don't have, and once they get it they get conservative… They want to hold on to it and don't want nobody else to get it. But when they had so-called liberal supreme court justices and liberal so called presidents, these are titles that they gave them, integration was able to survive and whatever the case may be, but there was that undercurrent group of whites underneath who continued to work and to undo it, and once they got their presidents in place and people, governors and what have you in place, then they began to work to undo it. And that surprised me because I really thought that we had learned and, being a student of history, it says that if you don't learn from history, you're doomed to die from it. So we're going to wind up perishing. I'm going to cite another example of fair play: we were getting ready to have a program in the gym, and I needed a piano moved from the cafeteria to the gym. So I went down to the study hall and I said I need ten young men to help move the piano. Well at first nobody got up. I said again I know you all understand English – I need ten young men. Two white kids got up, few minutes, three white kids got up, that was five. Two more white kids got up, that was seven. And then three more white kids got up. I said I need ten young men to move the piano. So one of the black kids who was smart he said well you've got ten, I said I don't have the right ten. I don't have the right ten. He said "what do you mean?" and I said "I've got all white students," I said "and I've got a lot of black kids in here." Black kids were not going to volunteer for anything because they felt like they were already… they had a history of being used… So I told five of the white guys "say, y'all go sit down," I said, "now I want me five black young men…"

[*concluding remarks*]

Appendix XVIII

Interview with Melva Flowers, Texas High School Class of 1970:

What year were you born?

I was born in 1952.

Were you born in Texarkana?

Actually I was not, I was born in Ashdown, Arkansas.

Did you grow up in Ashdown?

Well, no. The first ten years of my life I was in Ashdown, or Ogden is where we actually lived was in Ogden, Arkansas, and we moved to Texarkana when I was in the fifth grade. So I started the fifth grade in Texarkana and I've been here ever since.

Which schools did you attend?

In – you're talking about elementary, high school or what?

Yes ma'am all the way through.

Okay I started out in elementary school at what was Goree Elementary School and they've recently changed the name back to Goree School, it was located in the Newtown area, it was an African American or all black school. Segregation had not happened at that time, so it was Goree Elementary School. And I left there – there I attended the fifth and the sixth grade – and in the seventh grade I started at Dunbar, and that's D U N B A R, and it's still, it is now an elementary school and is located on Milam and West 10th Street. So I was there from the ninth grade and the tenth grade – no the ninth… I was there seventh, eighth and ninth grade, I'm sorry, I was there seventh, eighth and ninth grade and in the tenth grade I went to Texas High.

And you said that you went to Texas High under "Freedom of Choice" – can you tell me a little bit about that?

I went under Freedom of Choice in the tenth grade. And Freedom of Choice was when they integrated the schools, the other schools were still available for you and you had a choice as to whether or not you wanted to go to that school - or whether you wanted to go to an integrated school or whether you wanted to go to an all black school. Dunbar was still there, my parents told me to go to Texas High, it was the first year that Texas High opened up so I went to Texas High in the tenth grade under what was called "Freedom of Choice." Dr. Mitchell Young at the time was one of the school board members and he called it "Equal but Separate," so they wanted you to have – they thought they wanted you to have an equal education but they wanted you to have a separate education. They integrated the schools, and you had a choice as to which one you wanted to go to and my family chose for me to go to an integrated school, which was Texas

High. But I had lots of friends who stayed at Dunbar. And then the other thing was Texas High was much closer to where we lived than Dunbar was.

About how many students do you remember going from Dunbar to Texas High under Freedom of Choice?

Probably under Freedom of Choice – it was probably no more – and that's a really good question – probably 25, 25-30. It wasn't that many of us that went under freedom of choice. And then the next year it was mandatory integration and Dunbar was no longer available for any of us, everybody had to go to Texas High. And all the schools became integrated. So in 11th grade all the schools were integrated.

So that first year – do you have any specific memories of what that was like socially and academically, I mean being removed from the school that you had attended for so many years and kind of being, people have described it as a guinea pig class…

And that was probably one of the biggest challenges, at Dunbar I was probably considered in the top 25 of the class if not the top 15, I was probably at least in the top 30 at Dunbar when I was in the seventh, eighth, ninth grade, when I was at Texas High in the tenth grade that number probably went from, probably in the 125th or whatever. And I struggled at Texas High, I was one of the first in the tenth grade another lady by the name of Paula Wilcox, that was - her maiden name was Wilcox, she and I were the first two African Americans to integrate the Pep Squad. And we were well accepted in the pep squad, I don't remember any discrimination in the Pep Squad. They treated us nice – we went out of town to football games – I have no unpleasant memories at all while we were there. The only thing is that we brought a lot of the cheers from Dunbar, from the African American community into Texas High – they accepted our cheers and all that. But like I said we didn't have any problems, the only thing that probably the negative side would be is that – and I don't know if the teachers were harder on us or what the deal was, but it was an academic challenge, but it was not a social challenge for us at Texas High when I was in the tenth grade. Now the eleventh grade was different.

How was that different?

In the eleventh grade, when everybody was over there, they had - one of the major things that happened was they had a riot. The principal, and I don't remember him doing it so much when I was in the tenth grade, in fact I don't ever recall him doing it, but in the eleventh grade when he would get on the PA system he would

[*brief interruption*]

But anyway, in the eleventh grade the principal would get on the intercom system and he would say, he would call us "niggerers"– he never used the word "nigger," he never used the word "negro" but he called us "niggerers" - and I can hear him saying – his name was Mr. Maguire and he would call us "niggerers" and he would say to the "niggerers students" and all that. So even though – and at that time I was not even conscious of the segregation that was actually happening at Texas High, but as I look back now I see some of the things that we were probably

segregated in. When they had the riot at Texas High, I remember sitting in my English class and there was a teacher by the name of Mrs. Hurst, and Mrs. Hurst was a very soft-spoken, quiet and nice lady, she was one of my favorite teachers, and everybody jumped up out of their seats to run outside to get involved in the riot, and I – I got up and got my stuff I was going out to get in the riot too, and she looked at me and said, "Melva, your parents did not send you to school for you to go out and get involved with something like that, I really wish you wouldn't do it." And I did not go. So I didn't actually get to witness the riot that was going on, but it was really really bad.

Do you remember what year that riot would have been?

Okay so I graduated in '70, so '69 – '68. It must have been '68.

And it was racially motivated, I assume?

It could have been '67, it would have been '67 because I was in school at Texas High that school year would have been '69-'70 so the year before that would have been '67-'68 so it was probably more '67. Because school had just started and, I mean, the blacks and whites did not get along well at all. And then part of that was, you know, you come from a school where you were the bomb in the school – you were in the top 10 in the class or in the top 25, your teachers all like you, you were one of the popular students at Dunbar and then you come and you're just a drop in the ocean at Texas High and you're not even noticed at Texas High. And it seemed like the requirements for what it is that you needed to do were much – I don't know if it was much higher because we had excellent teachers at Dunbar and I know that I received a quality education while I attended Dunbar, but it's just that it was a struggle. But I did not have any problems with any of my teachers, the pep squad teacher – I saw her several years ago and she said to me that she always knew that I was going to be something and that I was going to be something positive with my life – and she never said that to me, never encouraged me, but she said she saw these qualities in me. And I had a teacher my homemaking teacher was Mrs. Wood – they said her husband was extremely prejudiced, but I never saw the prejudice side of her with me. Now you could probably talk to some other people and they maybe would give you another perspective of these people but I did not. I had an English teacher named Mrs. Brookshire, she was a very good typing teacher. I remember she called my mom and told my mom and dad she wanted me to get my typing skills up, that she needed to get me a typewriter – my mom and dad got me a typewriter so that I could get my typing skills up because that was not one of my strongholds – and so we did that and I still have some good friends now that I met while I was in pep squad and outside the pep squad I still have some people that I'm still friends with now – when I say friends I'm talking about white friends that I met then. So I didn't have a lot of problems. Like I said the thing that echoes more to me than anything else is the principal getting on that intercom calling us niggerers. And then when I was in the twelfth grade he changed it to negroes.

So the sense of community that Dunbar had – when that school was changed to be, I think it was a middle school and then it became an elementary as it is now –

Dunbar was seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth. So all six grades were at Dunbar at that time. There was no middle school for the African American community. It was seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth at Dunbar.

The community that Dunbar had, do you feel like that was lost or diminished with the transition to Texas High in some respects? Did y'all have the same mascot and the same colors as Texas High?

No, we did not. The colors at Dunbar were blue and gold. We had our own fight song – we [Texas High] had "Hail Texas High School we are as one, standing together 'til day is done" and then Dunbar has a different song that we sang.

You talked about having a positive experience in the pep squad, was it easy for other organizations like the cheerleading and the band – did that easily integrate, too? Do you remember that or have any – and the student council?

I did, I think probably those students that excel the most have the least problems. We had a class reunion and some of the people were sharing some of the experiences that they had and you had to be – and we were raised up in a culture, a black culture that always told us that in order for us to be successful we always had to be better than the white person. That we could – our A was not as good as their A, we had to make an A+ in order to be recognized as an A student. So that's the culture that most black kids were raised up in, especially those that have done well. We couldn't just give it our best, we had to give it more than - we had to give our all and then some more in order to be accepted. Did I answer your question?

Yes ma'am, absolutely.

And then you talked about the culture, and see one of the other things that was lost here is that when we went to Dunbar our parents knew those teachers, they knew those black teachers, they went to church with them and a lot of those teachers lived in our neighborhood. So our parents, even though they may not have been educated – my mom had a high school diploma and my dad, I think he completed the ninth grade but he had gone to the military and no one would have ever thought that he did not have a high school diploma based on the way that he talked and the way that – 'cause we had the newspaper, we were raised up every, in a home where you read the newspaper everyday, in fact we got the newspaper twice a day in the morning and in the evening time, I was raised up where I saw my mom and my dad both reading the newspaper, reading and all those things that helped to cultivated learning for us, for your child – but these teachers lived in our neighborhood and if you didn't do well in school or if you showed out or whatever, those teachers knew how to get in contact with your parents and let them know and - but when you went to Texas High, you had white teachers and of course when you left the school you didn't see them anymore. And they didn't know your parents and all that. So that made a difference. There was so much accountability with these – with the black teachers versus, you know, in an integrated society. 'Cause we – When I was in the tenth grade I don't remember having an African American teacher, and in eleventh grade I think I had a biology teacher that was black – in eleventh grade I think I had a black biology teacher, and I don't remember a black teacher in the twelfth grade.

So when you came over with Freedom of Choice, was that decision solely based off of your parents? Or did you want to go that first year?

I wanted to go. They had built the school, and we lived less than a mile away from the school. And when they were building the school, on Sunday afternoons we would go up there and peep in the school and look in the school and all that. And we were actually excited to be going there. And race relationship was not talked about like it is today. So my mom never said "you're going to be going to school with those white kids, you need to be careful" and "they may not like you because of your colored skin" – we were not taught that. We were just taught to be the best that we could be and do what we needed to do – so I didn't go there with any fear and that may be one of the reasons why I was accepted as well as I was accepted. I just saw them – and it wasn't like I had never been around white folks before, I just didn't have any fear and I wanted to go. Now, but I will tell you this – if they had not integrated fully, I would have gone back to Dunbar in the eleventh grade. I would have gone back to Dunbar. Because I would have been able to do some things that I wasn't able to do at Texas High.

What kind of things?

Well, I was in the pep squad [at Texas High], but I probably would have been in the student council and I may even have been able to be a cheerleader [at Dunbar], but that was – you know I was not going to be able to do that at Texas High, the competition was too steep and all that. So at Dunbar I was competing against people of African American descent, my own people, but at Texas High I not only had to compete against some of my African American friends, but then I had all these white folks I had to compete against too to be able to do things.

And do you feel like you were – you would have been disadvantaged in those competitions purely because of your race?

Oh yes. Definitely.

So, looking back from today's point of view, what do you think was the best thing that has come out of integration of educational systems specifically?

Well, together we are stronger when we live in a diverse community. And anytime that there is diversity we are better off. When we were at Dunbar we got the – they [Texas High] used the books for a couple of years and then the books were handed down to us [Dunbar]. When we went to Texas High we got the same books that they got, we got the same – and one of the things I remember my mom always saying to me is, "When you go to class, if you sit there and listen, when they teach that white student, they're teaching you too." So my mom always reminded me that I couldn't use the fact that I was black or something in the classroom because the white teacher teaching what she was going to teach the white students, I was getting the same information that they were getting. How I choose to use that and how I choose to process that and how I choose to act was on me. So we got a better quality education there because we didn't get the secondhand books, we got the same books that they were getting, there were more opportunities, like the football players, they probably outshined – and that was probably the discriminatory, or that was probably the loss for the white boys because the black boys were

better athletes, so that probably hurt them more than it helped them. It helped the school because our athletes were so good, if you understand what I'm saying. And then – but the main thing is that we got a, not that our black teachers did not give us a quality education, I don't ever want you to leave there, because they went beyond to make sure that we got a quality education. But whenever new technology came out, if they bought it for Texas High, I was able to take advantage of it. But when I was at Dunbar, if they bought new technology, unless they sent that technology to Dunbar, then I was disadvantaged. So those were some advantages that we had by going to Texas High because they wanted the best for their kids and we were there so therefore we could take advantage of the best too.

Do you think that Texarkana schools would have ever integrated without the Brown v. Board decision? Do you think that would have ever happened naturally?

It would eventually have to happen with the changing of the times, it would have to happen. It may not have happened as quickly as it happened, but it would have happened.

Well I don't have anymore questions, is there anything else that you would like to add?

Well, the only thing that I would like to add is I want to say thank you for allowing me to participate in your survey, number one. Number two, I'm proud to be an African American, I'm proud of the standards that my mom and my dad set for me, the requirements that they had for me to need to be successful. I have two sisters and all three of us have gone to college and all three of us have master's degrees and we all consider ourselves successful in our own right so – one sister may think she's more successful than the other but we all know that we're successful – and it's because of the foundation, because I think foundation is so important. I had a good, strong foundation at home, but those African American teachers set a strong foundation. I remember when I was in the fifth grade – and I'll even go back to when I was in the first, second and third grade – I didn't share that experience with you – when I was in Ogden, and I attended middle school there, this is going to be hard for you to believe, but the first and second grade were in the same classroom, the third and fourth were in the same classroom, and the fifth and sixth were in the same classroom. So the teacher would teach the first grade morning session for the first half of the day and the second half she taught the second grade. They would give you assignments to do while she taught the other one. My mom always taught me while I was in the first grade, she said if you listen to what she's saying to the second graders, when you get in the second grade you'll be already knowledgeable of the things that she's already taught the grade that's ahead of you. So – and I remember my teacher when I was in the first and second, maybe more like the third and fourth grade over at Ogden, she would even bring us home with her. She lived in Texarkana and she would bring us home with her, four or five students – that's unheard of now for students would accuse her of sexual impropriety or something if she did that – but we would come home with her and she would expose us to things at the house and play games with us and teach us math and science and all that after hours, so they went to that extra effort. So that's what happened to me when I was in Ogden. When I came to Texarkana in the fifth grade, we did leadership skills. I remember I was president of the Girl Scouts, and we were taught how to conduct a meeting and how to count money when we sold Girl Scout cookies and how we would take care of the business of that, so she taught – the fifth grade taught me that. These are not things that kids get today. And then when I was at Dunbar in the seventh grade and eighth

grade and ninth grade, we had teachers that, when we had assemblies, there are things that you could say in an all black setting that you can't say in a white setting, or an integrated setting. So they would take us when we'd have assembly and they would just lay it out on the line and tell us that if we wanted to be something we could be something and you had to say poems, one of my favorite poems is "I have to live with myself and so I want to be fit for myself to know. I have to be able as days go by, always to look myself straight in the eye; I don't want to leave on a closet shelf a lot of secrets about myself, and fool myself into thinking that nobody knows the kind of person that I am." So that's one of the poems we had to learn. We had to learn "If I can keep my head all about me when others are losing…" whatever, I've forgotten that as much as myself, for myself is the one I remember the most, but we had those poems that we had to learn because not only were they interested in the academic part of your life, they wanted to build character is what they wanted to do. And my mom and dad used to tell me all the time that your word is your bond and you know when you give your word, you need to keep your word. Those African American teachers, they taught us those things too and they reinforced the things that our black parents were telling us at home – that helped us to have strong characters, have strong values. To believe in yourself and to not let people, no matter what they said to you keep you from dreaming big and accomplishing the goals that you wanted to accomplish. That you could be anything and anybody and all that. So you don't hear teachers saying that now because they can't say some of the things – they tell you "boy if you don't get yourself together…" and the principal will take you out in the hall and whip your butt, it wasn't about sending you to the office and somebody in the office disciplining you – that principal or that teacher – that teacher would discipline you right there. I remember one time that I was in the ninth grade and there was one girl back there, she would tell jokes and she'd never crack a smile and everybody else would be laughing, and I remember my science teacher was Mr. McClure and I was laughing and he said "all you all laughing go out there in the hall 'cause you're fixing to get a whipping." And I got out there in that hall and I begged for life, I said "if you don't whip me" – 'cause I cannot stand pain, I didn't want no whipping, I didn't want my mom and daddy whipping me, I always tried to do the right thing because I couldn't stand whipping – I begged him, and he said "anybody as big and pitiful as you are, you don't never need to get in trouble anymore. You get back in there and don't you ever have him put you in this hall again." [laughing] But they'd whip you. You know, they had belts and they had a strap and they'd put that strap on your butt if you did not do the right thing. So we, and they didn't care about your – you got another whipping when you got home 'cause they'd called your parents and told your parents or left your parents a note and let them know and they'd storm in the grocery store and tell them about how you were acting. So all these are the things that are missing in the African American community now. Now, these kids – there's a little girl in school who told her teacher "you can't tell me what to do, my mom is the only somebody who can tell me what to do" – back when I was a kid if you said that to a teacher, everybody would be telling you what to do after that. [laughing] So, I hope I'm letting you know as to what the African American teachers did for us back then, not only academically but building character. And sometimes we get so caught up on academics that we forget about the character part of a person and helping them to be successful. 'Cause you can be the smartest person and can't be successful on the job if you don't know how to act, don't have the right attitude, you don't have the character, the morals, the values and all that. So it was a combination of those things when we were going to school.

Appendix XIX

Interview with Ike Forte, Texas High School Class of 1972:

What year were you born?

I was born March 8, 1954.

Where did you grow up?

I grew up in Texarkana. This is home. Texarkana, Texas.

Do you remember what schools you went to?

I started off, as far as elementary school, I went to Sunset Elementary School. Right up on Lake Drive. And, uh, when I finished with Sunset I went up to Dunbar High School, because the elementary school went from the first to the sixth grade and seven through the twelfth went to Dunbar. Dunbar High School. And, of course you know… seventh grade, eighth grade… and then integration started in 1968. And they left Dunbar a junior high school, seventh, eighth and ninth grade. So I was in junior high school at Dunbar and we started playing the guys that were white. Pine Street, Westlawn, the Arkansas schools – two of them – College Hill and North Heights. Well that was our first time ever, you know, playing [football] against guys who were white because, you know, when you had Dunbar you played the other black schools. So, it was a change. And we won our city championship – we beat all the schools in that area. And then, tenth grade of course we had to go to Texas High. And I don't remember any discomfort because Watty Myers was still the head coach there and, from my understanding, I was the first sophomore that Watty Myers let play on his football team. And we didn't encounter any type of racial problems on the football team. Matter of fact, being a sophomore and playing with those senior guys, well you know I'm kind of young and didn't know too much and I'm the youngest guy there... And so I'm kinda… And I was shy… So I'd just kinda sit back and all I did was play football. Now as far as if there was any racial tension going on, I didn't know about it. Of course, I do remember, I didn't have a car. I didn't have a way to get from where I lived, which was South Lake Drive to Texas Senior High School, and I do remember walking a lot with no problem. Uh, one thing happened when daddy and I and one of his friends were down at Lake Texarkana. I guess this was about this time, and we was fishing and we was getting ready to pack our poles and stick them in the back window – you know 'cause we had those, I forget what you call them, they weren't rod and reels but they were just poles where you sit on the side and put your hook in the water – we were just putting them in the back and it was three or four white guys drove by and threw firecrackers at us. Well daddy – he got real mad and he chased them – our old car couldn't go too fast nowhere – and I don't remember catching… I don't remember… I think he might have caught up to them at the EZ mart or something and they exchanged words. But, you know, we grew up in the… what we called the hood which was the neighborhood which was all black and we had a lady who had a store – a white lady who had a store – Mrs. Hall – Mrs. Hall had a store and, matter of fact, it was right dab in our neighborhood, and she was a really nice lady so we never had no problem. I do remember when daddy got his paycheck on Fridays – my dad made $60 a week – and we would go up to the grocery store on Lake Drive

and we would buy groceries for the week, and of course dad owed Mr. Olived money, so Mr. Olived took all his paycheck, but he let him get groceries on credit, so that was something we looked forward to because we got chili and some candy to eat, you know, but you know, being in high school of course, I'm still not aware because that's the way things were, just the way they were. Going to the Paramount Theater downtown, it's the Perot [Theater] now, but it was the Paramount, and all you had to do was get six bottle tops of RC Cola and you could see a movie – for six bottle tops – but we had to go upstairs, enter through the side door and walk upstairs and we sit on the top balcony. We didn't know what was going down down below, you know, and there really wasn't nothing bad about that going on. But I guess my – I can't remember if it was my junior year or senior year at Texas High – there was a big riot. The blacks and the whites started fighting. Well it was that morning and it was, I don't know what started it, but we just heard a "FIGHT" and I guess everybody ran to the parking lot – of course I didn't go. And when you don't get involved with some things, especially when it's white and black, you get labelled. You'll be called an "Uncle Tom" which, I don't know what that had to do – the meaning of it, but it means that you are, as far as being black, that you cater to the whites and you don't follow your group or whatever, but all the kids who ran out and fought at Texas High that day in the parking lot – they closed all the doors. Of course I'm inside, but they closed all the doors and everybody who got locked out was suspended. And I'm going to say this was in 1971, and of course it was a big city thing going on then because all of the important peoples in the school district or in the city got involved, especially because kids were getting expelled. For how long, I don't know. Of course I didn't get expelled, and that was... I got schooled by a lot of people who came and gave me their opinion about different things of what – they're glad I didn't go out and fought - and of course I heard my friends who – 'where were you, man?' and 'you should've been out there' – and so of course I never was a fighter and didn't believe in that… Mama didn't raise us that way no way, and dad… We never was raised to hate. Mom, she worked for a white lady. She cleaned her house. There was a couple of them, she'd ride the bus and… wherever she had to go… And my dad, he worked at a saw mill and, of course, I got the opportunity to work at a saw mill, too. I don't think nothing of it now and I didn't think nothing of it then, but it was a white guy who, he'd stand up on top of the lumber, and if it's a good piece he'll put a check on it and one black guy on the one end and another, I'm on the other end… if he put an x on it then I'd pull it off and stack it and if it's a check mark he'd pull it off and stack it... and that's the way it was. Determined the good from the bad. And I made a dollar and some cents an hour, which was very good. This was in, I guess it was summer when I was a senior in high school, or a junior in high school going to be a senior. But as far as racism, of course you heard the n-word a lot, which blacks and whites use it. You'd hear blacks calling whites names… But I guess that's the way… I don't know, it was the law that we had to [desegregate] so, you know, a lot of the blacks… I didn't hear any of the blacks complain about having to go to Texas High, which was good for us because Texas High was just being built pretty much. It was new. Mostly I was into sports so I heard a lot of the black guys saying they heard they wouldn't get a chance to play because - white coaches. And they didn't like us coming over there. I didn't see that with Watty Myers because Watty Myers wanted to win, so he was going to put his best people he had on the field. And the first year that they integrated, I don't know much about because I wasn't there. So I don't know how – I know we had some guys we looked up to who was juniors and seniors who was good football players, some of them didn't play when they went to Texas High. Why? We don't know. But we were just concerned about what we was doing at the junior high. Now, I don't know of anything that would be important because, I was sports minded. That's all I

wanted to do. Matter of fact, I wanted to play pro football when I was in the sixth grade. Now I can remember earlier I wanted to be a doctor, but I found out I wasn't smart enough. And then I got to the point where I wanted to be a barber, but I found out later on that I wanted to play pro football. And we didn't have games to play with so we was always outside playing, you know, sometimes we didn't have shoes because we had Sunday shoes but we couldn't play in those, so we played barefoot. Of course, summertime we didn't wear a shirt… We just had fun. That's all I can tell you, we had fun in our neighborhood. You know, there wasn't any whites – growing up – so we didn't associate with any whites but now there was a time, I do remember, that they had what they called a "Milk Bowl" 'cause we played flag football at Sunset elementary school, and I'm sure the other school played it because we could walk from one part of town to the another part of town and we could - go past Grim Stadium and we see these little white guys, same size we are, and they're playing tackle! With uniforms! Wow! So we on the fence looking in. Man that was, wow. And the Milk Bowl, I guess that's something that they played, I don't know why they called it that, I don't know, but we wanted to play. But we couldn't. I don't know, I can't tell you why. But maybe they had a flag football, we don't know. But I do know that they played tackle at the end of the year. Cause we… You had Sunset School, black, but then you had Newtown which is a section of town… So you could walk from Sunset to Newtown, or you could walk from Newtown to Rose Hill which, that's what Dunbar was over in Rose Hill area, and it was… We didn't go around in Beverly. Beverly, you know where Beverly is? Don't go to Beverly… You could go around, but you couldn't go through it because that's where all the whites lived. We knew that. Couldn't go. You didn't want to be caught over there neither. So – it was – that's just the way it was. We didn't have no choice. But now, I still don't want to go to Beverly now… I'm telling you. But I don't know if there's anything else you would be interested in as far as… In 1972, of course, our football team was close knit and our basketball team was close knitted, and I got, as a member of the Church of Christ, well there's members on the team that were Church of Christ, and their families would invite us over – matter of fact, there was a doctor, William Shields, who was our team doctor who lived right down the street, and if I got hurt on Friday night he would bring me into his home and doctor on me that weekend. I thought that was great. Matter of fact, he was going to help me go to the University of Oklahoma, but my grades weren't good enough that I'd had to sit out my first year to get my grades up. Well I didn't want to do that. I wanted to play football. So I went to the junior college. And I felt bad because that hurt Dr. Shields' feelings. He wanted me to go to Oklahoma. But members of the church, we had people like Doris Osterveen. She was Bruce Osterveen's mother, who – we could come over any time Bruce took us over and there was no… We was friends. A white guy and a black guy, we was friends. And the conversation come up about that, but that didn't matter. Which that's the way life should have been anyway, but… I don't remember experiencing any bad discomfort as far as integration and segregation. People started realizing that's the way it's going to have to be and it turned out good for me. I have no regrets. I just know that… I didn't know it then, but God took care of me and as far as any bad bad things happening – no, it wasn't there.

Do you remember there being – do you remember the cheer squad being predominantly white? And the majorettes? I know football was well integrated, but what about the band?

Yeah, all the cheerleaders was white – we did have one that was, I don't know if she was standby, that was black. Now homecoming court was integrated, it had black homecoming court.

I can – matter of fact, that happened two years that I can remember: my junior year and senior year. But my junior year the cheerleaders was all white, of course the pep squad had some blacks in it, I remember that. Student Council was all white. Of course there are some pictures I could probably look at and remember, but I don't remember, even being a senior, that we had any student council [members] that was black. But when they did the most handsome, they had a black and white, most beautiful had a black and white, you know, stuff like that. Which, I guess that would be I guess the way to do it because I guess we saw beauty and saw things differently I guess.

Did you – You never had any issues – I mean obviously you didn't fight – but you never had any issues with white teachers or anything like that?

No – Matter of fact my first white teacher was at the Dunbar school. Which, he taught woodwork, the shop. And I had the opportunity to see him – I couldn't think of his name now – he was a real nice guy – but we did have issues one time on the bus. I can remember we had to ride the city bus from where I lived to Dunbar at times, and the bus driver was white and they did something to him – I don't know – did to his head or something, whatever it was, but it was – I don't remember what happened after that but I remember that – I don't know why I thought of that, but that was… instead of school bus pick us up and bring us they sent the city bus. And I can remember – why that, I don't know. Maybe that's the only one they had, only thing they had, sometimes we got kind of rowdy because we didn't have supervision on there, just students and the bus driver.

Did they bus from your neighborhood to Texas High School?

Yes. And then, when that happened – when the bus driver got attacked – then they cut it out. So you had to get there the best way you could. I do remember walking a couple times.

Was Dunbar High School where Dunbar Elementary school is? Is it the same building?

Yes. And I had the opportunity to go there last semester, of course they had renovated it and that was one of the best – I just said wow. Cause I remember – seventh grade, eighth grade walking down that hallway and then the gym, gymnasium, cafeteria, you know, wow. And I got teary-eyed, you know. Cause that was my first time in there since we left back in 1969. 1968 and 1969 I was in the ninth grade, and when we left I didn't, we didn't go back over there, didn't go back in the building. That's a long time.

So when you were in the ninth grade would have been the first year that they desegregated – did any white middle schoolers, or junior high students, go to Dunbar?

No.

So it was still completely black?

Right. But there were one or two black guys who went to Pine Street [Junior High], I don't remember any going to Westlawn [Junior High]. But I do know there were at least one, I do

know, that went to Pine Street. I don't remember any as far as the Arkansas side neither, because – as far as the football team – cause when we played them they was all white.

Did you ever consider petitioning to go to a white school? Or did you care?

No, we – no. My mom and dad had a sixth grade/seventh grade education. They always had to work. We went where we was told to go. Of course, we'd had no choice from the first to the eighth grade. Ninth grade we could've went but – yeah, I mean. And Dunbar was still there, matter of fact it was closer to our neighborhood than any other school. And that's where we went. My life wasn't exciting; it was just – we went along with the flow. Didn't cause any ruckus, I didn't, wasn't that type of militant – just, at that time we stayed in our place.

What do you think about being born in 1954 – the year that the Supreme Court said 'desegregate with all deliberate speed' – and then when you were in the ninth grade and, more effectively, in the tenth grade is when it actually happened?

No thought whatsoever, at that time or now. It didn't have anything to… well inadvertently it had something to do with me, but at that time it didn't. And, at that time, we still had to stay in our place in 1954 until, I know 67-68. There were certain things, certain places where we couldn't go. That's the way it was. And we didn't – couldn't go too far no ways cause, you know, we couldn't get around. Wherever we went we had to walk. We couldn't go to Spring Lake Park – Spring Lake Park had a city pool.

You couldn't go to Spring Lake Park?

And swim – no. We had to walk all the way to the Arkansas side, I don't know, over where the old Washington High School is, they had a park right past there, and we'd walk from Lake Drive – all the way over there to swim because that's the only place we could swim. We weren't allowed [to swim] in Spring Lake Park.

That's a long walk! Especially with Spring Lake Park so close.
Well we wanted to swim. And that was a big thing too because the pool'd be full of people. I can't remember what it cost to get in there, if it was free or not, but we didn't do it all the time. Just when we had the time and, fourteen-fifteen years old, we'd go over there and swim.

But you enjoyed your time at Sunset and Dunbar?

Oh yeah.

And you liked your time at Texas High? Or did you wish that you could have stayed?

Well, no…

Do you feel like you missed out on anything by going to Texas High?

Uhhh, no. It opened the doors for us, too, going to Texas High. Because, at the all black school, most of the really good athletes they could only go to – get scholarships and went to all black colleges. Our idols that we, guys we looked up to who were seniors – Take that back, I take that back. We did have a guy who graduated Dunbar, and he was probably one of the first basketball black athletes to enter the University of Arkansas – from Dunbar. And every now and then, he'd come to Walnut [Church of Christ] and worship with us. And of course, if you'd ever meet him he'd let you know that he was probably the first black basketball player – he's got to bring that up with everybody he meets… Most of the black guys that graduated Dunbar had to go to a black college and, if they got a scholarship or if they wanted to play football or whatever, run track, they had to go there. But, what a blessing it was for me to go to Texas High and to be able to go to any university for a scholarship.

What do you think was the best thing to come out of integration long term? I know there's lots of wonderful things, but, in your opinion, kind of having gone through it, what do you think is the best thing?

The best thing is that we have a better opportunity to get a better education, which, at the time we didn't know that, but looking back – to go to a better school to get a better education and as athletes, our parents weren't able to pay our way, and we got scholarships. I think, on my behalf, and a few more of the guys that I know as far as black guys that had the opportunity to go to major universities and at least try to get our education. So that was better for us. I'm not saying that blacks at Dunbar didn't get an opportunity, because a lot of them got the chance to get their education and became good educators, men and women in the political field and leaders in the community, so it was – I guess if you had the ability and the brains even in a black school or a white school, you could make it. Just better opportunities at a different time. It was… Wow, just you know when I just sit here and think about that – life was good though. And I can understand why some whites didn't want blacks in the school. That was their way of life. And I can understand why some blacks didn't want to integrate 'cause that was their way of life. But everybody, I guess, who lives in this country – I like that speech that Martin Luther King made that "you judge a person by its character, not the color of his skin" and how true that is. You've got 'em in all shapes and sizes and colors. And I never thought that I, fifty years later, that I'd be sitting talking to a white lady about integration. Yeah.

Do you remember – at Arkansas High there were protesters – do you remember anything like that?

No. Nothing like that. And if I did hear of anything it didn't register in my memory… I don't have anything about that. Now remember we were stuck over there at Sunset. That was our world. And, as far as newspaper, TV… well, TV, we did watch TV and we had three channels. The only big thing I remember about, two things I remember on the TV at that time, being in this dirt, this street used to be dirt and rocks and then the city came through and paved it. And I'm a little boy and I do remember some people had TVs and the Wizard of Oz come on and somebody in the neighborhood had a colored TV – a TV with something plastic painted on it with red, blue, yellow, green [stripes] that made it look like it was colored, and I'm watching the Wizard of Oz

for the first time, but that was the best movie I ever saw. And as I grew older, I kept watching the Wizard of Oz, and I can see Dorothy now kicking her heels together, and she says "no place like home." That was our home. And Mohammed Ali won the heavyweight championship of the world and that was a big thing in our neighborhood. And I believe that was 68-69 somewhere in there.

Do you remember when Martin Luther King died? Do you remember anything…

Yeah, I was in the fourth grade. And our teachers really pretty much got affected by it. And they was all… You could see them talking about it, you know. And then John F. Kennedy, you know. And that was a big thing because the blacks liked John F. Kennedy. You'd go in people's homes, and you'd see a picture of Jesus – now when I say that I'm just so you'll know what I'm talking about 'cause now I don't look at it like that 'cause we don't know how Jesus looked, we know that Jesus wasn't blonde haired and blue eyed… - and then there was a picture of Martin Luther King and then there was a picture of John F. Kennedy in most homes in our neighborhood. That I do remember. And as far as, you know, every now and then something else will pop up, but I didn't have a life that was, I guess, worth talking about, but this is what little bit I have. We didn't have much, we had to go [gestures in backyard] about to that trampoline to use the restroom. That's the kind of life we lived. And when I went from, well I guess I got in the… I guess when I started going to Texas High, tenth grade, we moved across Lake Drive, 59, and we got us a commode on the back porch. And you ask me how, how did y'all take baths, well we had a hydrant and put water in it, in the bucket. Carried it and put in on the stove to heat it up. And we had a little tub and you'd take it in the bedroom and you'd poor your hot water in there then get in and take a bath. When you'd get through with the tub, you'd take it out and dump it off the back porch. And when I went to Texas High – when I played ball at Dunbar – but we could take showers then, which saved us from having to do all that work at home, but of course our families still had to do that. That's the way life was for us, in our neighborhood. And, you know, growing up and people talk about the good old days – it was alright at that time. I don't want to go back to them. I know, I can't imagine when America was great from 1968 to even 1979… That's when I started playing pro football. Things was rough for us then, you know. But we made it through, some kind of way. The way that is was. Then when I got old enough to marry, have my own family, I tried my best to make it better than the way it was when I was coming up from a kid. I don't let nothing bother me now. Life is… I'm at this stage now where I'm enjoying life, I'm enjoying… I have no problem with anybody, no matter what color their skins are. No matter how much money they've got. Some people have problems with that, and I listen to them, and racism still goes on on both sides. I realize that. Nothing I can do about it. But I know what I can do, I know what I'm supposed to do. And I let God guide me. It's all good.

Appendix XX

Interview with Reverend Tony Patterson, Texas High School Class of 1969:

When were you born?

I was born in June of 1951

And did you grow up in Texarkana?

Yes, I did.

On the Texas side or Arkansas side?

On the Texas side.

Where did you go to school, from elementary?

I went to Theron Jones Elementary School

And then from there you went to Dunbar?

And from there I went to Dunbar Junior and Senior High. That was seventh through twelfth.

What do you remember most about Dunbar and your experience there? And your experience in the segregated school system kind of in general.

It was, oh perhaps the happiest times of my secondary school education. It was the place that my father had gone to school and graduated from, and my mother was a teacher there, a home economics teacher. And so it really meant quite a bit to me to be there in that atmosphere, and in that surrounding. It was something I had been looking forward to for most of my childhood life. I was just glad to be there, and that was something that was encouraged that you – in my particular family – would get an education and get a good education, and that is something that was being able to be provided from Dunbar High School and graduating from Dunbar High School. In addition to that were all of the extracurricular activities that students could be involved in like sports and the band, cheerleading squads – those things that make up the high school and make the experience more enjoyable and fulfilling. And it was something that we also looked forward to, that I also looked forward to in being there – so that was a very very favorable experience and a part of my life and as far as it related to the relationship with the TISD, with the school district, we were kind of insulated in that regard. I'm sure my parents knew more about it because they were working for the school district, but that wasn't really something in our school of knowledge, if you will, about what was going on in the school district and our surroundings at that time. We kind of had a – an isolated microcosm if you will.

What year did you graduate from Dunbar?

No – I was actually, and in that regard – that's probably one reason that Mrs. Jones gave you my name, one reason. Another reason is that I'm currently the president of the Dunbar Alumni Association. But the other reason that I instantly probably popped into her mind is that I was in the first class – the class of '69 – that graduated from Texas High. So I went to Dunbar from the seventh grade to the eleventh grade and my final year was spent at Texas High School and I graduated from Texas High School.

So what do you remember most about the transition, and especially it being your senior and final year after having all of those wonderful years at Dunbar and that sense of community and your father had gone there, your mother was a teacher and there were extracurriculars and kind of having to go in to a very different environment that last year?

It was – it was short of traumatic. It was not traumatic but it was very disconcerting for, for not only me of course, but for my whole class. Because we had come up with certain aspiration and expectations of what our senior year would be like and then it was – you know, positions that we had worked hard to, you know as hard as a high schooler can work, in achieving and as the result of integration we lost that work, that effort we put in to be in those positions because we were integrated into another system. And we were, in that regard, perhaps the class that lost the most in going over to Texas High. And I'm sure that that's the way that me and my class look at that and I mean, we're not too bitter about it or bitter at all, but we were very disappointed that we had to go and really, as it turns out, we were kind of early in going because all of the other schools, including the schools in the northeast Texas school districts – Tyler and Longview and Marshall – they didn't integrate until the next year. And the same was true for our contemporary on the on the other side of town. They did not integrate in Arkansas until the next year. And we are not quite sure why it was such a rush and our class in particular are not quite sure why it was such a rush to – for us to go at that particular time. And we could not have waited another year then certainly - and that might sound a little bit selfish and it did actually had to happen eventually and we just kind of felt like we wish it had been delayed another year.

When you speak of loss and how you feel that your class would agree that you "lost" the most by being a senior class integrating what exactly are you referring to losing, like the community, or…?

Well, that's a good question and what I was referencing was we lost our positions, we lost our… we lost our secondary school education identity if you will by – when we had to go over there. We were – many of us were on the student council, when we went over there we were no longer a part of student council where you had influence. You had football, I played football and I was, a good example, I was most likely and surely to be the starting quarterback the next year. Well when I got over there I was on the football team, but I was relegated to a lower position. So I lost that, in other words. We had cheerleaders, no cheerleaders were on the cheerleading squad – no black cheerleaders. We had eight or ten cheerleaders, in our class we probably had three or four. Band members… That's what I mean when I said we lost. We lost our positions.

Do you remember any – I'm sure it was there – but do you remember any hostility or specific instances of hostility or aggression shown between the white and African American students that first year?

Very definitely there was and it probably did not affect us on – well me and my brother in particular, he was a class behind me – because we rode to school with my mother. And this is where I think most of the aggression and discrimination occurred. And the other classmates told us we were kind of, in that sense, insulated from a lot of it personally. But there were many reports of the discrimination and the hostilities that many of my classmates encountered in transition – because there was a great bus ministry, a great bus effort had to be employed to get us from our neighborhood over to that neighborhood. So the bussing many people that hadn't been riding the bus found themselves riding the bus our senior year. And as a result there were many reported incidences of racial hostility and there were sporadic confrontations with the students once we got there – we didn't, it's like the longer we were there the less it happened – I think it was kind of to be expected initially in the transition, but truthfully it did tend to go down as time went by and I don't know if that's growing used to each other or what the explanation may be – You know, I'm sure that's it because you begin, once you go to class you begin to know people sitting next to you, even if you hadn't been talking by the end of the semester at least you're speaking, "how're you doing" "good morning" you know, and the barriers begin to, the walls begin to break down. And I think because of my class we certainly were instrumental in beginning to help to break those walls down.

When you were at Dunbar, I wasn't a very socially conscious elementary child, but maybe when you were at Theron Jones, did you ever notice or were you aware of the inequality of the supplies and the textbooks that the African American schools and the white schools had?

Yes, we were aware in that – they would provide the books for the grade levels during the elementary experience and I guess during the high school experience they provided books, and they were, there were some new books in there but the majority of them were used and signed by – you used to have to sign your books when they gave it to you because when you turned it in, if you damaged it too much there was a book fine and I can remember, and we haven't talked about this in a long time with my classmates, but when they'd give you a book they'd give you a book cover which was a sheet of paper, a thick sheet of coated paper that you were to cover those books with to try to help preserve them, but they weren't – in answer to your question, we did kind of notice that and me particularly going over to the Texas High my senior year, a good example is the football equipment. They had excellent football equipment when we were hard pressed to have decent pads for protection. And many – and we got a lot of their secondhand football pads and shoulder pads, thigh pads, those sort things – they were obviously secondhand when we would get some of them. And so it was, there was some new in both the books and in the sports supplies, but there was also some obvious secondhand supplies and materials being passed down to us.

As a graduate of Texas High, why is the Dunbar Alumni Association – you said you're the President – why is that important to you and why is that an association that you're involved in personally?

I'm glad you asked that question because that institution that affected so many lives had been in existence since the early to mid 1900s and done a tremendous amount of good in the community by producing graduates that went on to higher education, higher educational institutions and went on in to society and flourished, and certainly as a result of a good basic education it was providing. And something like that needs to be remembered, it needs to be memorialized as much as possible because case in point is – and this is really something that I think will be good to you – we're having a tri-school alumni association banquet this weekend, this Saturday at Liberty-Eylau middle school and now Liberty-Eylau was the school district where Macedonia High School, which was a black high school, that's another name you probably ought to remember and maybe be able to use in your thesis, was Macedonia School District was the kind of rural school district of Texarkana then but it was the only black school district in the state of Texas. Yes, it was a black school district, they had their own school district and professor A.L. Johnson was the superintendent of that school district when it integrated in 1970 and all those students had to go to Liberty-Eylau. And so we're having that banquet – it's the fourteenth annual, we didn't have it last year or the year before because the president, Dan Haskins, he passed away and some other surrounding circumstances, we haven't had it in a couple of years so we're bringing that back – and where the three high schools come together to perpetuate the legacy of those three high schools that, African American high schools, that impacted society as much as they did from the City of Texarkana on both sides of the line. That needs to be remembered, and unless we do things like this, unless we organize and do things to perpetuate that memory and that vacancy it will eventually be forgotten. It's already going to be a challenge enough when all of us die that actually went to these schools, it's gonna be difficult enough for our posterity to take it on, but hopefully they will, they will see the value, someone will see the value of stepping in and trying to make sure it does survive. So that's it in a nutshell. It needs to be preserved for those reasons.

One more question and I'll let you go and get back to your day, what do you think has been the best thing long term that has come out of integration? I know that you saw and lived most of your primary and secondary education in a segregated system and then transitioned to an integrated one, and now looking back, what do you think has been the greatest contribution from that?

Don't let me forget that question, I just thought of something else on the end of the other question. We here in Texarkana are… We here in Texarkana, and I just kind of had this revelation, we are fortunate in the sense that our institutions as far as the buildings are concerned are still standing. That is Washington High, the old Washington High High School is still standing, Dunbar is still standing and Macedonia is still standing. Liberty-Eylau is using Macedonia. TISD is using Dunbar, it's an elementary school now. Same thing with Washington High. When many, I'm pretty sure that... at least I think so… I've heard that like with Marshall, Tyler and even Longview, I think those schools have been torn down. So that might be worth researching and it might be worth - but as a result, they kind of stand as pearls in the community, as they are really, and you know there's been a lot of blight around some of our schools in that

sense. But it hasn't been so much as I think in other cities, as it has in other cities and in fact and in Rose Hill, I don't know if you're aware, but they've had quite a renaissance of housing there so the tearing down of a lot of houses has gone on and some public housing project have come in around that community called Rose Hill and that is continuing to make us more and more proud that our school is still there in that community. And so now, what was that question? Oh what was – what do I see coming out, did I see anything positive coming out is that the question?

Yes, looking back now what do you think has been the best and most positive impact to have come from integration?

I think it has been – it has been just a tragedy that it had to be segregated in the first place, that's kind of water under the bridge, and so it had to happen at some point I guess is what I'm saying and yeah it kind of might sound a little selfish – I hate it was us in 69 – but what it did, I think there was some positives that came… we kind of mainstreamed, it helped with we mainstreamed into society, as a result more black people went into otherwise segregated or certainly high white populations of students, universities and colleges, as a result of that, and so I think it main – it just mainstreamed us as a more cohesive and integrated society, and I think that's what the intent was and so it was achieved. And there were some personal sacrifices that had to be made, some personal injuries, not physical but emotional injuries had to be made with classes like mine, but overall it was probably the best thing to do.

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This editorial from the Texarkana Gazette, following the articles published on the NAACP v. Stilwell/Williams case, states that the NAACP created "an atmosphere for violence" by bringing the case. It goes on to defend Dr. Stilwell, saying he was not a member of the mob outside of the college and has the right to express his opinions on integration. The article then explains Stilwell's opinion regarding integration and the powers of the Supreme Court.

"NAACP Takes New Step in Getting Negroes into TC: U. Simpson Tate Files Motion for Intervention for Students." *Texarkana Gazette* (Texarkana, U.S.A.), September 15, 1956. Texarkana College Archive.

This article from the Texarkana Gazette reports on the Texarkana College riot, the case filed against Dr. Stilwell and Mr. Williams, and the speech that Dr. Stilwell made at a pro-segregation rally sponsored by the White Citizens' Council of Arkansas and White America, Inc. The article also states that Mr. Williams was a member of the mob when the black students tried to integrate.

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This editorial from the Texarkana Gazette criticizes rioting, blaming the youth. Intelligent people "do not engage in brawls and riots. They settle their differences with words.

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This article from The Texas Observer is about Texarkana’s reaction to Martin Luther King Jr.’s assassination The author reports some people were happy about his murder, and other joked about it, while the majority of people who attended a memorial service in his honor were black. Most notably, she reports that the mayors of Texarkana, TX and Texarkana, AR refused to declare a day of mourning per the president’s wishes, and the banks refused to lower their flags to half mast.

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This article from The Texas Observer reports on an incident that took place at Lake Texarkana when 75 black citizens began swimming on the lake’s beaches. White citizens spread glass on the beach while they were in the water, and shot three of the black swimmers as they headed toward their cars. 23 black people were arrested and charged with inciting a riot, no white people were arrested.

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This article from The Daily News-Telegram in Sulphur Springs, TX describes the cross burning and riot that took place after two black students successfully enrolled at Texarkana College. The article reports that there were no demonstrations during the day, and that the mob was disbanded after the police chief told them they were “more intelligent” than to do something like that.

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Several issues of Texarkana College's annual The Bulldog *were used for photos and general information pertaining to enrollment and involvement of black students.*

Brantley, Janet G., and Beverly J. Rowe. *Texarkana College: The First 75 Years, 1927-2002.*
This book documents the first 75 years of Texarkana College and its contributions to the community. Notably, it has no mention of the school's tumultuous integration period.

"Texarkana, Texas." Tshaonline.org. https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hdt02 (accessed February 20, 2019).
This article provided historical information on the city of Texarkana that provided greater context for the narrative of integration.

"Bowie County." Tshaonline.org. https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hcb11 (accessed February 20, 2019).
This article provided historical information on Bowie County, where Texarkana, Texas is located, that pertained to the city's history, especially in regard to slavery ownership.

"Slavery." Encyclopediaofarkansas.net. http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=1275 (accessed February 20, 2019).
This article provided data on the popularity of slavery in Texarkana, Arkansas prior to the Civil War.

"History of Texarkana." Texarkana.org. https://texarkana.org/around-texarkana/history-of-texarkana/ (accessed February 20, 2019).
This article provided further background information on the city of Texarkana, specifically its founding and relationship to the railroad.

Associated Press. “Negroes Win on Appeal Court Reverses Ruling Barring Entrance to Texas College.” *New York Times,* November 27, 1955. “Texas v. the NAACP.” *The Crisis at Mansfield,* accessed November 20, 2018. https://mansfieldcrisis.omeka.net/exhibits/show/naacp-texas/texas-v-naacp.

This article discusses the State of Texas v. NAACP *case that prevented the pursuit of further legal action against Texarkana College following the riot of 1956.*

"Desegregation Rules." In *CQ Almanac 1966*, 22nd ed., 477-81. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 1967. http://library.cqpress.com/cqalmanac/cqal66-1301831.

This article explains the HEW’s changes to integration minimum requirements in the mid 1960s. The different changes made by the department affected how Texarkana school’s modified their plans in order to remain compliant and able to receive funding.

“Robert E. ‘Swede’ Lee.” HogAlumni.com. http://www.hogalumni.com/athletics/swede_lee.html (accessed 12 March 2019).

This article provided background information on legendary football coach Swede Lee, who helped unify the Arkansas High School football team.

“At Texas High: Individual Hearings Set for Suspended Students.” *Texarkana Gazette* (Texarkana, U.S.A), February 19, 1971. Texarkana College Archive.

This article from the Texarkana Gazette reported on the mass suspensions of Texas High School students following the 1971 racially motivated fight. It explains public reaction to the event and the motivations behind it.

“Police Brutality Charge Levied by Black Students.” *Texarkana Gazette* (Texarkana, U.S.A), February 18, 1971. Texarkana College Archive.

This article from the Texarkana Gazette reported on the retaliation of black Texas High School students against what they claimed to be unfair treatment by police officers during the 1971 fight.

Bigart, Homer. “Burned Churches Rebuilt in Texas.” *The New York Times* (New York City, N.Y), June 21, 1971. Online Archive, accessed January 1, 2019.

This article from the New York Times provides details on the black church burnings that took place in Texarkana in 1971 following the fight at Texas High School. There were no white suspects, but instead black militants were believed to have caused the fires after the churches refused to be used as educational facilities for suspended black students.

Harris, Alan. Interviewed by Katherine Doan. Personal interview. Phone call. February 3, 2019.

Brewington, Gayle and Charles Parks. Interviewed by Katherine Doan. Personal interview. Texarkana, Texas. January 18, 2019.

Nelson, Donald. Interviewed by Katherine Doan. Personal interview. Texarkana, Arkansas. January 8, 2019.

Flowers, Melva. Interviewed by Katherine Doan. Personal interview. Phone call. February 9, 2019.

Forte, Ike. Interviewed by Katherine Doan. Personal interview. Texarkana, Texas. January 17, 2019.

Patterson, Rev. Tony. Interviewed by Katherine Doan. Personal interview. Phone call. January 22, 2019.

BIOGRAPHY

Katherine Anne Doan is a fifth generation native of Texarkana, Texas and a fourth generation graduate of Texas High School. She will graduate from The University of Texas with degrees in Plan II Honors, French Language and Computational Engineering. During her time in college, she had the privilege of studying English at Oxford University and French culture in Lyon, France. She was also a member of Pi Beta Phi Fraternity for Women and the Texas 4000 2019 cycling team. This summer she will be biking from Austin, TX to Anchorage, AK with Texas 4000.